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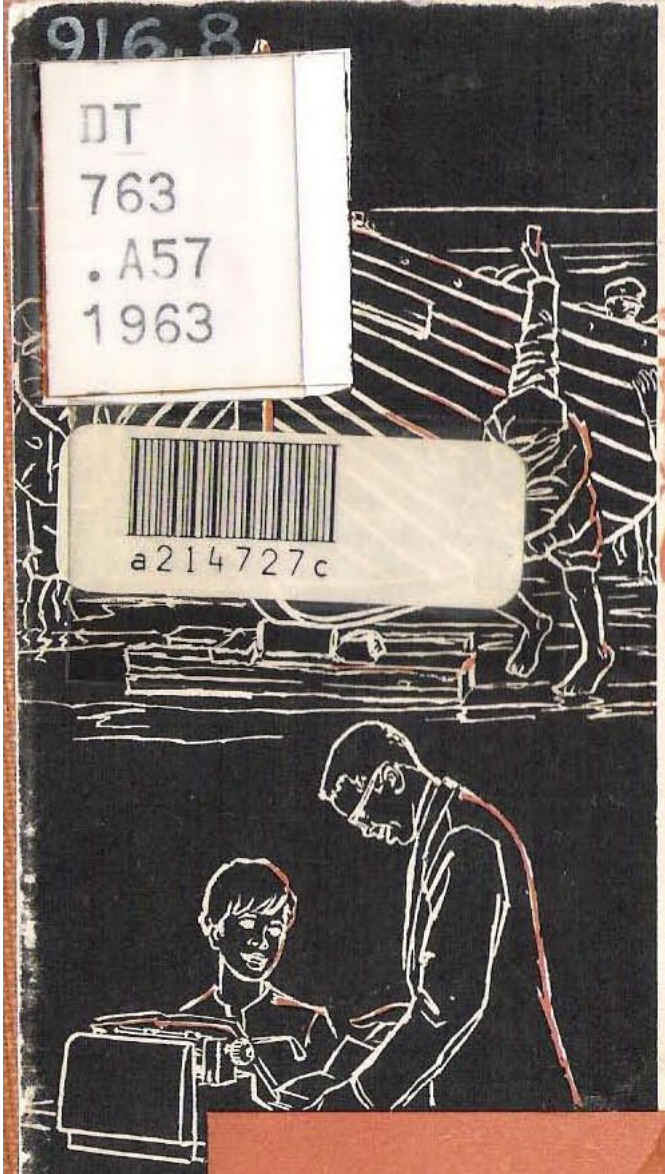

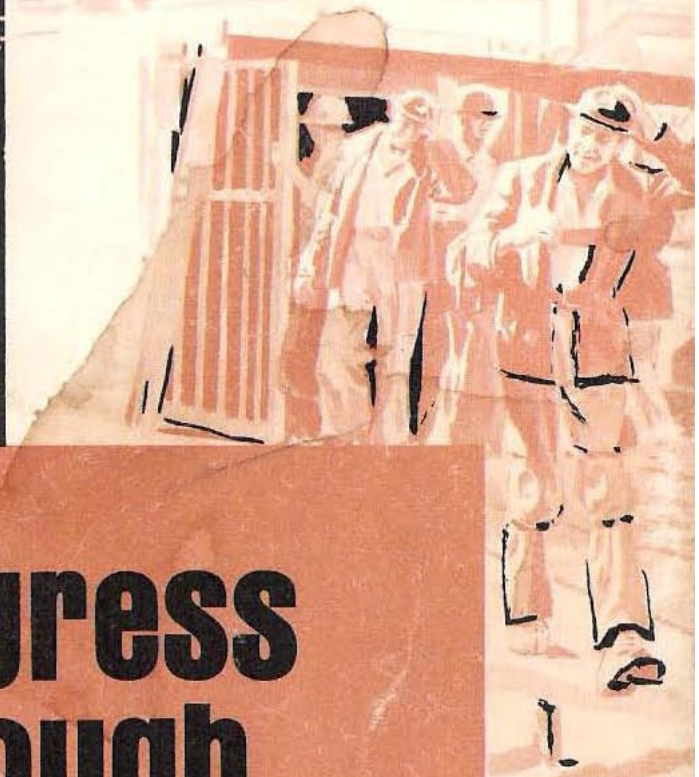

Progress through Separate Development

SOUTH AFRICA IN PEACEFUL TRANSITION

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Progress through Separate Development

SOUTH AFRICA IN PEACEFUL TRANSITION

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An aerial view of down town Johannesburg—the most modern city in Africa and the home of more than one million people. Johannesburg is typical of the areas of South Africa which were settled by the white man.

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Introduction

AMERICANS have traditionally prided themselves on their ability to look at all sides of a question before passing final judgment. The question of South Africa has many sides—not only racial—that are little known and appreciated in the outside world. But it is on the various aspects of the racial front that especially little is known of the Republic of South Africa. This book attempts to explain the reasons why separate development (apartheid) was evolved in South Africa. No dynamic policy dealing with that most unpredictable of God's creatures—man—can ever be crystallized to a few trite phrases. South Africa has been described as the foremost racial laboratory in the world. It is also a great new laboratory of nation building.

People in the South African Government who stand close to, or formulate the policies underlying this development are those best suited to present it. Thus we have the views of Dr. H. F. Verwoerd, Prime Minister of South Africa and Mr. M. D. C. de Wet Nel, Minister of Bantu Administration and Development as well as an exposition of case by Dr. H. Muller, South Africa's Foreign Minister. A speech made before the U. N. General Assembly in October 1963 by Mr. G. P. Jooste, Secretary for Foreign Affairs is also included.

This book will assume knowledge of the fact that the white South African nation is not a "settler nation" but a rooted people whose African heritage goes back as far as that of the oldest American families. It will assume knowledge of the fact that Southern Africa—unlike other parts of the African continent—was never the *traditional* home of any black race. Indeed black Africans entered what is today South Africa at the same time as the original white newcomers started pushing inland.

The groups met in 1778 when both had already settled large tracts of South Africa.

The population of South Africa is made up of:

	A White nation of	3,250,000
The Bantu Nations	The Xhosa	3,000,000
	The Zulu	2,750,000
	The North Sotho	1,200,000
	The South Sotho	1,100,000
	The Tswana	900,000
	The Coloured Group	1,648,000
	The Asians	522,000

The book also assumes knowledge of the constitutional, cultural, economic and industrial development of South Africa—by far the most advanced, modern and stable state in Africa.

Should you require specific information on economic or cultural affairs please write to this office for THE SOUTH AFRICAN TRADITION (cultural) or PROSPECTS AND PROGRESS (industrial).

INFORMATION SERVICE OF SOUTH AFRICA
655 MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK 21, NEW YORK

Dr. H. F. Verwoerd, Prime Minister of the Republic of South Africa. Dr. Verwoerd is leader of the National Party.

"The essential condition (to a stable and prosperous country) is that racial domination will have to be removed. As long as domination of one race by another exists, there will be resistance and unrest. Consequently the solution should be sought by means of a policy which is calculated to eliminate domination in every form and in every respect." Dr. H. F. Verwoerd, speaking in the South African Parliament, March 1960.

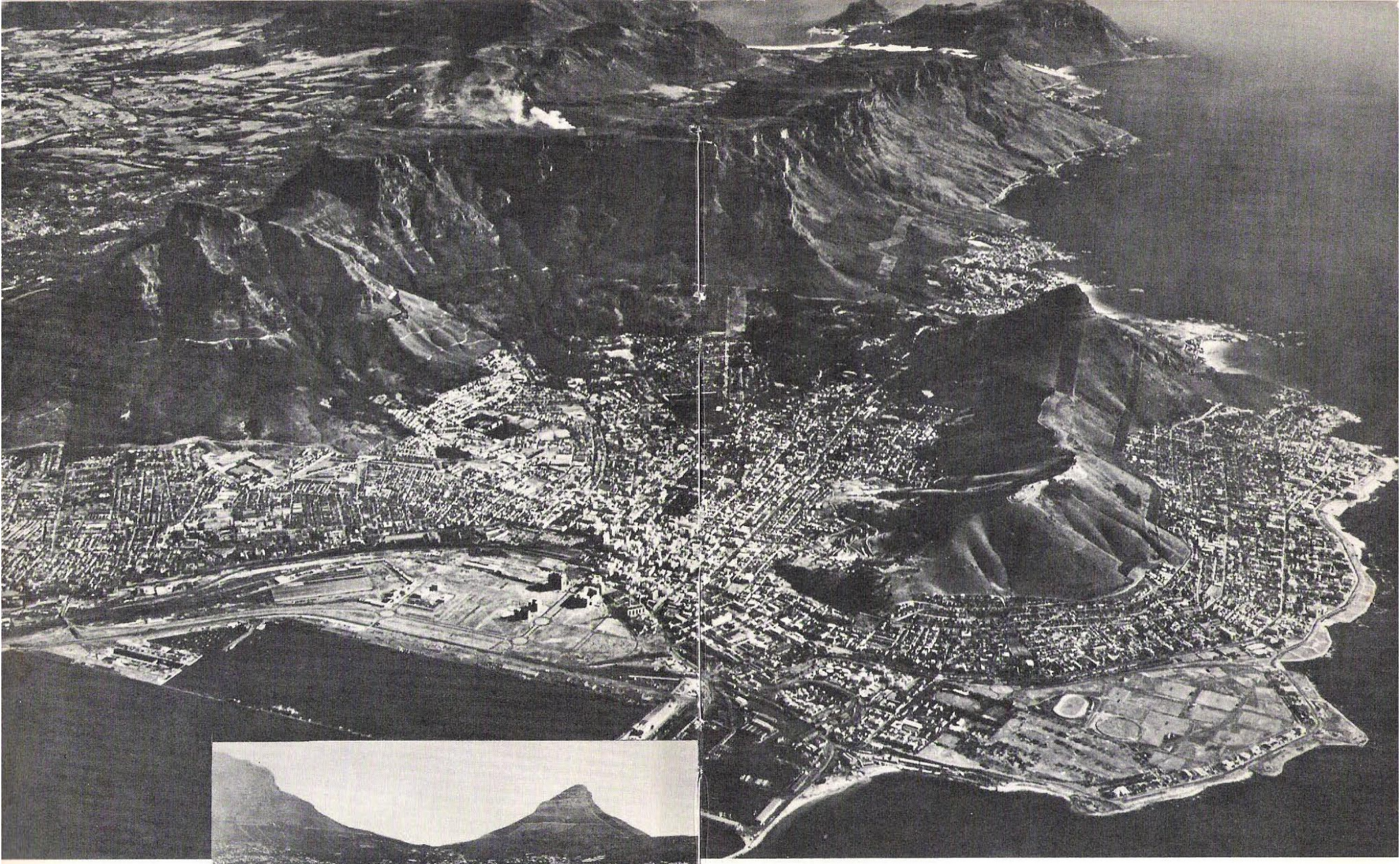
Chapter I

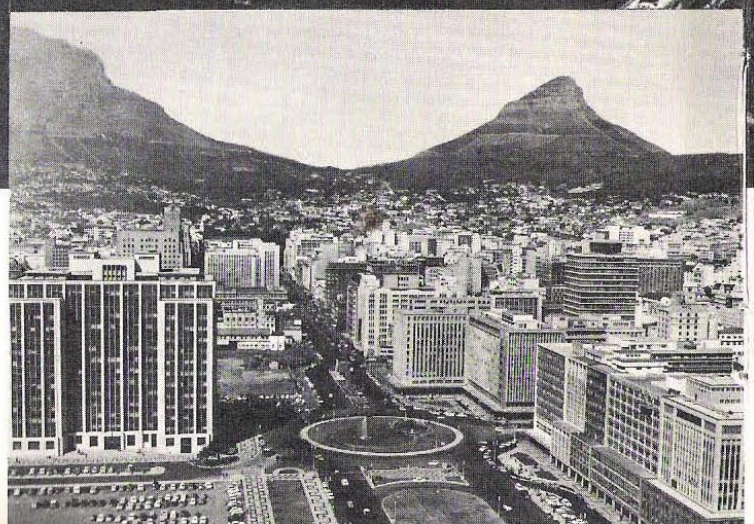
Dr. Verwoerd States Case

WHEN South Africa withdrew from the British Commonwealth of Nations, Dr. H. F. Verwoerd, who was in London for the Prime Ministers' Conference, spoke before the South Africa Club explaining his nation's stand on its policy of parallel development as well as South Africa's rejection of any outside interference in its domestic affairs. The speech was made on the evening of March 17, 1961.

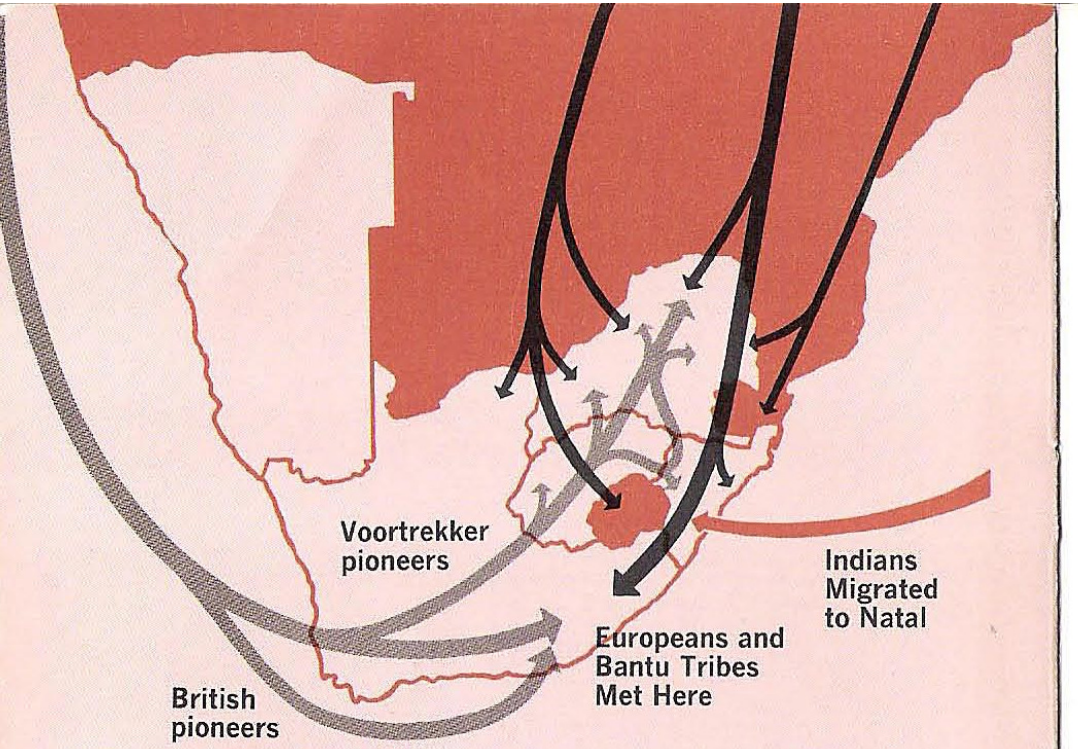
ON THE THRESHOLD OF TOMORROW . . .

SOUTH Africa's problem is unique. Nowhere in the world and never in history has a situation developed which is quite similar. The solution must therefore also be unique. And yet everybody, everywhere, whether knowledgeable or quite uninformed, would like to impose theoretical ideas and principles or solutions found to be, or thought to be, useful elsewhere, on this different situation. Allow me to put to you the factors involved in very broad outline.





An aerial view of the Cape Peninsula showing the city of Cape Town nestling under Table Mountain. The first white settlers landed here in 1652 when the Dutch East India Company opened a refreshment station at what was to become the modern city seen in the picture below.



The Movement of the Races into the Interior of South Africa

EUROPEAN MIGRATION

BANTU TRIBES

INDIANS

The first permanent settlers from Europe came to the Cape of Good Hope in 1652, when Jan Van Riebeeck established a supply station to provide fresh food and vegetables for merchantmen of the Dutch East India Company, trading with the East. Sporadic immigration from Western Europe made Cape Town a thriving outpost, and the farmers began pushing inland. They moved into what is now the Eastern Cape Province, where by the early nineteenth century they encountered the vanguard of the Bantu tribes who had been moving south. Insecurity on the border and dissatisfaction with British rule forced Voortrekker pioneers to trek northward into the interior and eastward into the vacuum created by the Zulu tyrant Shaka's wars of extermination in Natal. At the time of Van Riebeeck's landing, masses of Bantu were slowly approaching from the North, from the Lake regions of Central Africa. These Bantu tribes settled along the Eastern seaboard, in the valleys of the Drakensberg and on the warm, fertile plains on the seaward slopes of the mountains.

Historical Encounter in Vacant Land

More than 300 years ago two population groups, equally foreign to South Africa, converged in rather small numbers on what was practically empty country. Neither group colonized the other's country or robbed him by invasion and oppression. Each settled and gradually extended his settlements, and in the main each sought a different part to become his own. There were clashes and frontier wars, and border areas were conquered, but since then the white man has added, and is adding, more land to the Bantu areas from that which he himself settled and intended to be his own.

No Colonialism

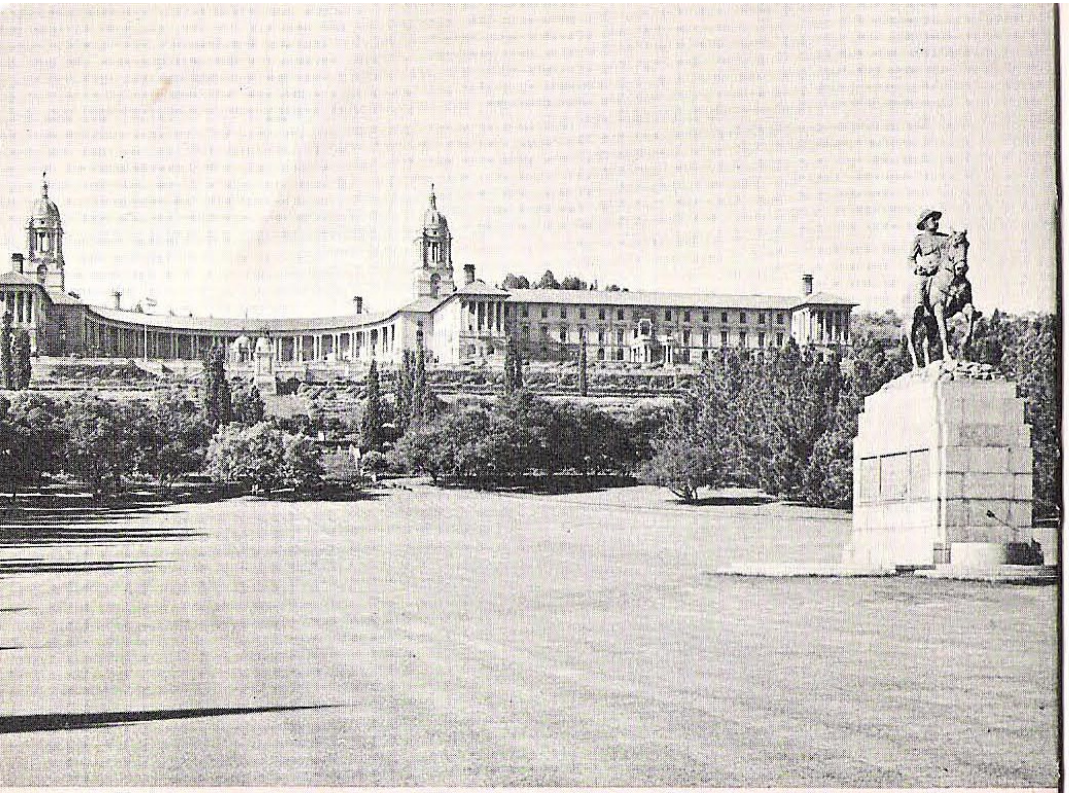
The first point is, therefore, that there was no colonialism, only separate settlement by each group, nearly simultaneously, and each had the chance to develop his country to serve his growing population group for more than 300 years. In fact, only in South Africa, the white man deliberately reserved land for the Bantu and endeavoured (mostly in vain) to train him to make the best use of it, as he did with his own, and to such good purpose that the black man came to him for employment, food and the good things of life, and not for political conquests. The white man therefore has not only an undoubted stake in, and right to, the land which he developed into a modern industrial state from denuded plains and empty valleys and isolated mountains, but according to all principles of morality it was his, is his and must remain his.

It is true that, in the course of time, he received within his country growing numbers of black people. Some fled to him for protection, driven out of their own country by internecine strife and the heavy hand of tyrants. Many came to him seeking relief from hunger or attracted by the bright lights of cities or by the desire for money or the good things of life.

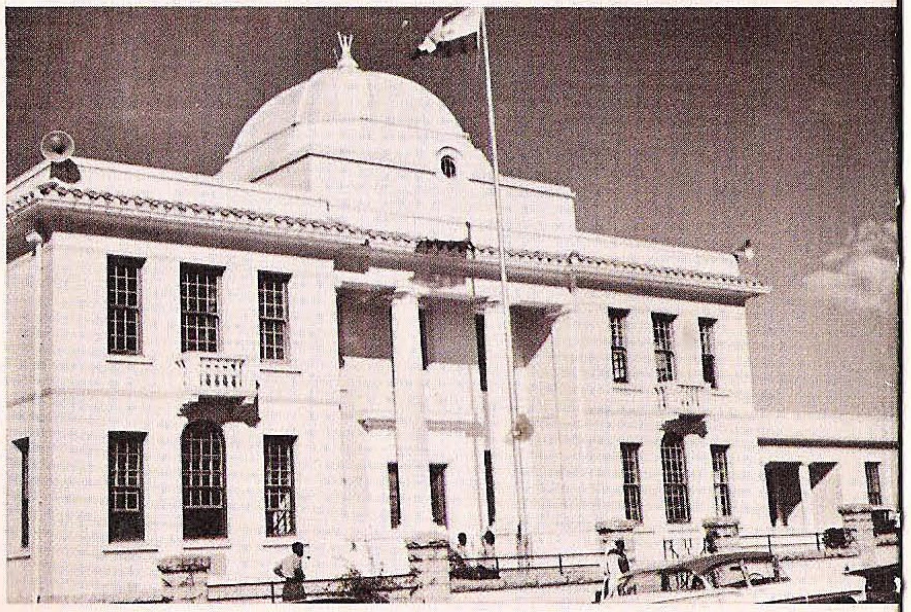
Character of the Nation

It is also true that elsewhere immigrants from one country to another could become fully fledged citizens with political rights under certain conditions. It must, however, not be forgotten that for that very reason such countries could, and did, and do, ration and restrict entrance to numbers which would not change the character of the nation or the control of its country, its culture and ideals or its very existence.

South Africa did not need to exercise this control and could be very liberal in giving entry, providing aid and a



View of the Union Buildings, administrative seat of the government of the Republic of South Africa.



better life to all who entered, even illegally, because such consequences did not come into the picture on the South African scene.

The nonwhites who entered the white man's country or the urban areas, came solely to seek employment, safety, health, education, all of which was provided freely by the white man.

No Desire to Take Political Power

There was thus no question of robbing the white man of his country by any political result of this entry in huge numbers, or by the natural increase of his population under the white man's protection and care.

In fact, it seemed then that for all time the white would as guardians even have to rule the black man's country as part of their own (in his interest) because he could not be developed to do this properly for himself. The white man therefore allowed the influx to continue until he was outnumbered four to one, and even now, against his will, streams of illegal black immigrants flow across his borders from many parts of Africa, because of the better wages and way of life they find in this land of so-called oppression.

Justice for White and Black

What is the solution to this dilemma, which history and the unexpected awakening of the black man has handed us? Theorists and others who far away can remain unaffected themselves, but philosophize gladly on the handing over of what is the possession of others, expect the white South African to give way gradually (and knowing that after the

The Legislative Assembly of the Transkei meets here in the new state's capital, Umtata. The Legislative Assembly which was popularly known as the Bunga has been the hub of constitutional development in the Transkei since the late 1920's. In 1956 the district councils of the Transkei were fully integrated when the Transkei's Territorial Authority was established. In 1961 this Territorial Authority approached the South African Government with the request for self-rule and in 1962 a committee of Transkei leaders deliberated among themselves and later with the Republican Government in drawing up the constitution for the new state. In November 1963 the first elections were held.

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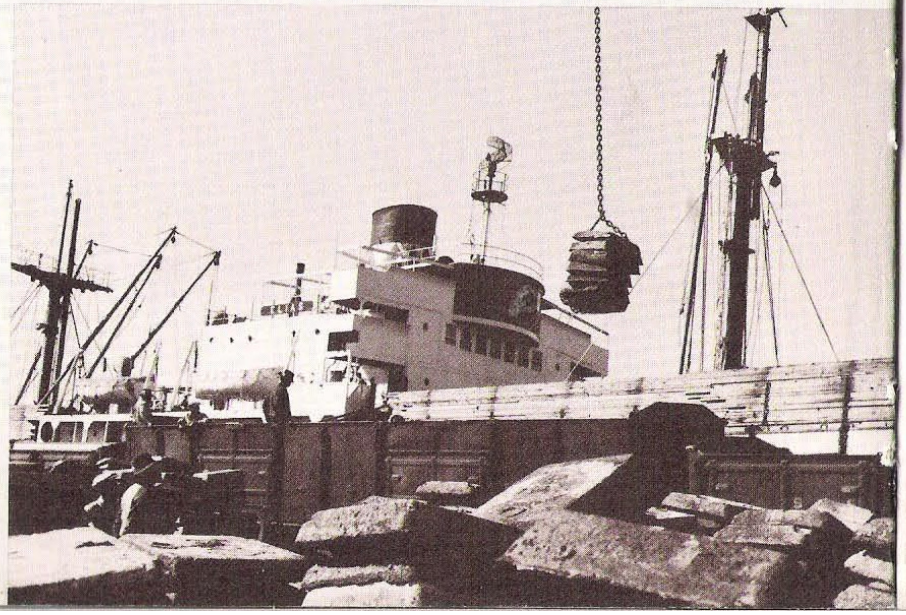
The city of Durban has the largest harbour and handles the most goods on the whole African continent.

South Africa is a veritable mineral treasure house. Here copper ingots are being loaded at the Cape Town harbour.



first step the pace will become uncontrollable) his country and his possessions and indeed ultimately his whole nationhood and existence.

Justice is Indivisible

Where does morality come in if this is demanded? If there must be justice for the black man, there must be justice for the white man and the Coloured too, who will both be affected and suppressed.

Cannot you understand us fighting to the death for our existence? And yet we do not only seek and fight for a solution which will mean our survival, but seek one which will grant survival and full development, politically and economically to each of the other racial groups as well, and we are even prepared to pay a high price out of our earnings for their future.

The moral problem just like the political problem, is to find a way out of this extremely difficult and complicated situation, caused by the fact that no longer as in the past is the black man incapable or undesirous of participation in the control of his political destinies. Nor is there any longer anyone prepared to oppress him by refusing the fulfilment of such ambitions in a form fair to all. Again I ask: What is the solution?

Elsewhere in Africa

In certain parts of Africa where the white man also ruled alone before, a solution is relatively easy. Those who find it easy there and do not realise the great difference between the two situations, are unfortunately tempted to wish to transplant that solution to South Africa. I refer to the countries of Africa which undoubtedly belong to the black man by settlement and inheritance, although they were taken over, administered and developed by different white nations. It is right that their land should now politically become their own.

Then there are in Africa other states where the political solution is not so straightforward or simple in spite of the fact that those territories were black settled and at least theoretically not open space when Whites originally moved in. The whites are also far in the minority in these areas and this seems to support the demand for making black states out of these areas as well.

Has the White Man no Rights?

On the other hand the main body of these white people were genuine settlers, many for generations, and the fact cannot be denied that the development and prosperity of these areas today are wholly the result of their initiative, investment, hard work and administrative capacity. In that sense it is their country too, or at least parts are, and they or their kin in the mother country have ruled alone until now. Have justice and the demands of morality nothing to say about the primary rights of these white people?

The "Partnership Project"

In the first planning it was accepted that their rights should be fully protected and the idea of partnership was born. This partnership was, for a long time to come, actually intended to be junior partnership for the blacks and the continued control as senior partner by the whites. Warnings made no impression on the rulers overseas that this theory would not work out that way, with the inevitable result that the black majorities soon demanded, and are quickly receiving, the right to what amounts to full control with the white man pushed out of politics to all intents and purposes.

The white man must furthermore expect to lose his possessions and see his hard-won farms, well-developed areas and businesses fall to pieces when he must go, as he realizes is inevitable. It is in such areas that the white settlers feel that they have been left in the lurch by parent countries.

Neither of these solutions would therefore suit the already described quite different South African situation. Not only are the whites less outnumbered than anywhere else, and not only do they claim the empty country settled by their forefathers as really theirs, but they know that if they gave way to some preliminary form of partnership it would become the end of white civilization in South Africa too—and white civilization in the world would lose its only anchor in Africa.

Forget the word "apartheid." Forget any term by which to describe a policy, and just ask yourselves what *you* would do under such circumstances.

Three Possibilities

There are three possibilities. One is that the white nation of South Africa should sacrifice itself, its possessions and the generations to come. They can do this by surrendering to black rule, even if it became a dictatorship, and evacuate the country of their forebears, or by remaining and becoming an indistinguishable part of a black nation.

Another way is to bluff yourself by making apparently smaller concessions, hoping to stave off the evil day, so that your children or grandchildren may suffer, but not you. This could be done by accepting some black representatives in Parliament and in every phase of life in the community, in the hope that their selfish satisfaction of own ambition will prevent them from developing and leading the ambitions of their masses.

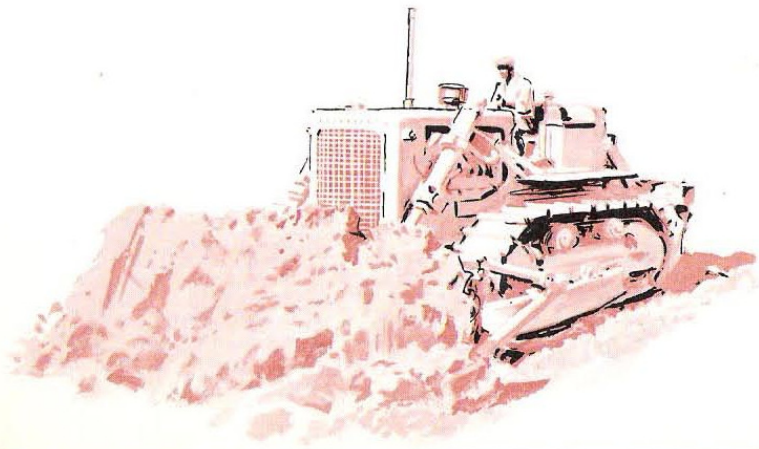
And if this does not happen, what then? If junior partnership would quickly – very, very quickly – also lead in South Africa to the demand for black rule alone, must the white man fight or submit? And at what stage should he admit that his subtle attempt to retain power has failed?

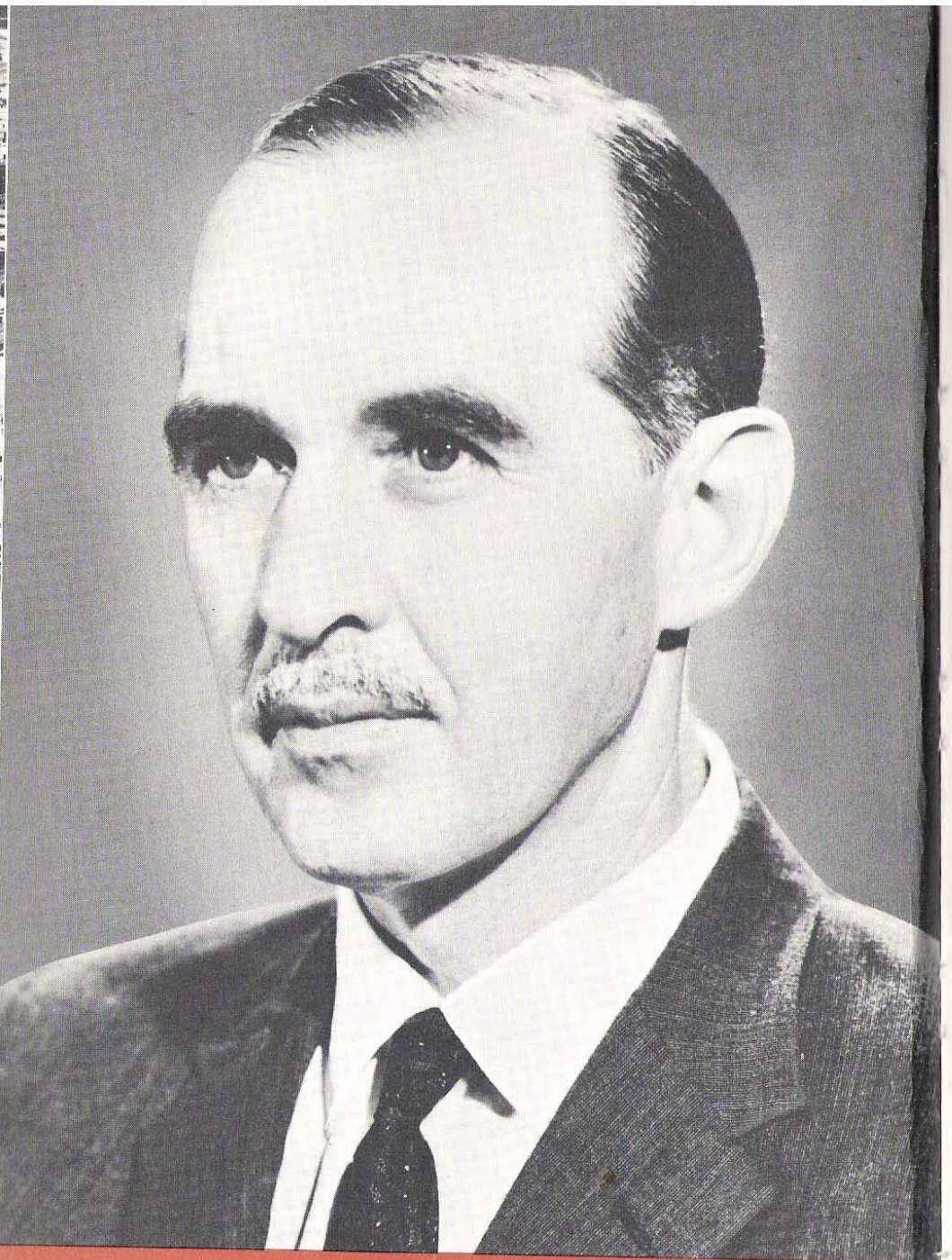
In fact, this second method of solving the problem, solves nothing at all. It only means that the struggle for power goes on and on, while the white ruler of today lets things develop until he gives in as before, or finds himself at last fighting in the last, or nearly last ditch for self-preservation.

There is another method, however, and that is to take your example from the nations: live and let live—apart.

We prefer each of our population groups to be controlled and governed by themselves, as nations are. Then they can cooperate as in a commonwealth or in an economic association of nations where necessary. Where is the evil in this? Or in the fact that in the transition stage the guardian must keep the ward in hand and teach him and guide him and check him where necessary? This is our policy of separate development.

South Africa will proceed in all honesty and fairness to seek—albeit by necessity through a process of gradualness—peace, prosperity and justice for all by following the model of the nations which in this modern world means political independence coupled with economic interdependence.





Dr. Hilgard Muller, Foreign Minister for the Republic of South Africa.

Let the World Take Note

Chapter II.

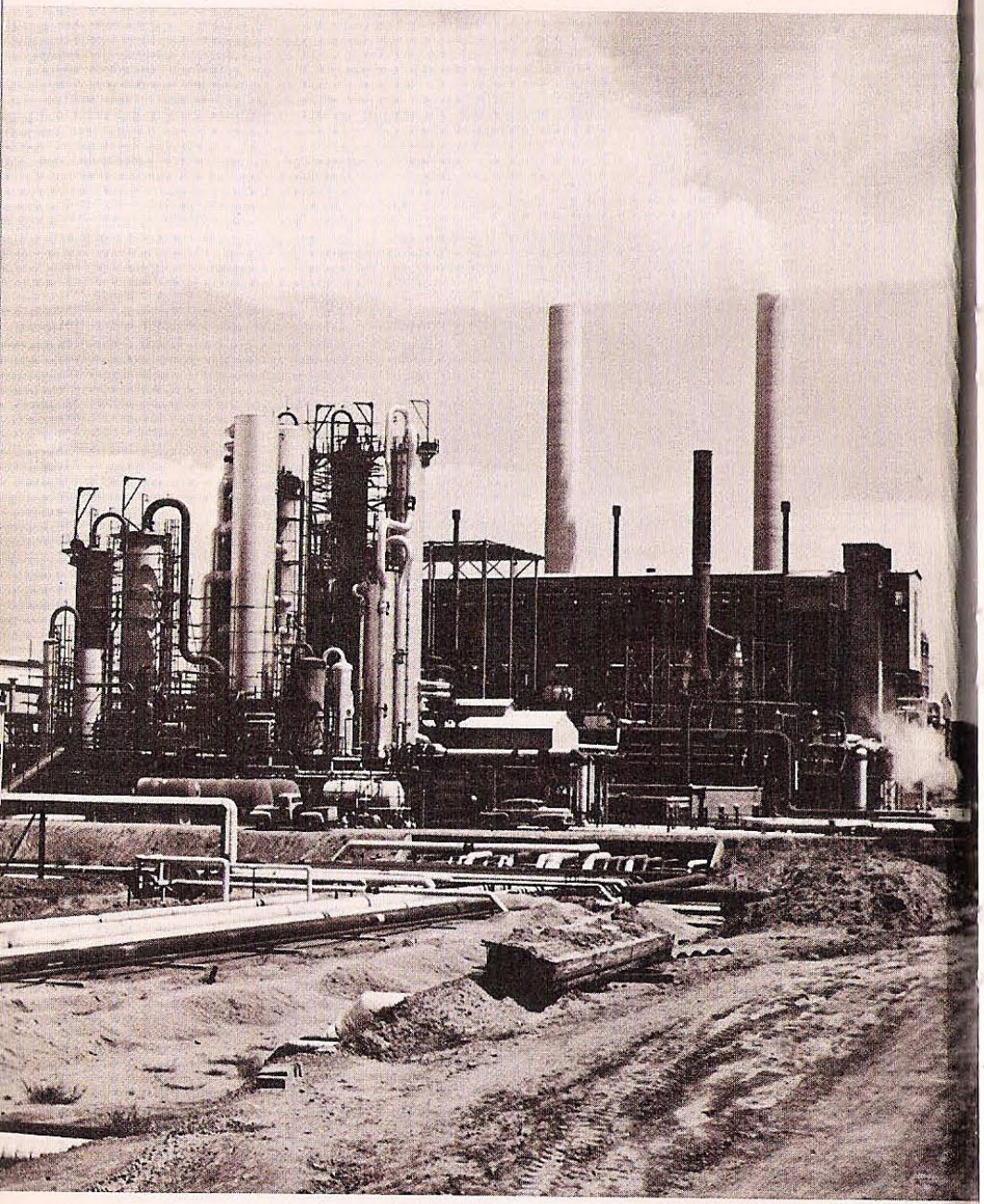
While he was in New York towards the end of 1963 as a member of the South African United Nations Delegation, Dr. Hilgard Muller, then Ambassador to the United Kingdom, delivered a speech to the English Speaking Union in New York on November 1, 1963. This talk by Dr. Muller succinctly sets out the Republic's motivations for embarking on the policy of Separate Development to meet the challenge posed by the realities of multi-nationalism in Southern Africa.

SOUTH Africa today occupies a rather conspicuous position in international discourse. it is not a singular position except to the extent that it has been made to appear so. The position of South Africa in the context of a troubled world situation is the product of many factors which I do not intend to develop. All I need say is that the presentation and interpretation of selected facts about South Africa have led to the creation of a special image and disproportionate isolation of South Africa's problems.

The result is grotesque: what you see is a cruel caricature of a country, its people, its Government and a positively abhorrent image of that country's policy, of the motives behind it and the mode of its administration.

It should, however, not be very difficult for sober-minded and responsible people to look objectively at the South African scene.

South Africa finds itself in the unusual position that many of her problems are a direct result of growth and expansion;



South Africa has the largest gasoline-from-coal plant in the world. This is a view of the Sasol plant at Sasolburg.

the country is on the verge of a leap forward towards levels of development and prosperity which far-sighted men failed to foresee even ten years ago.

All this came about as a result of stability, continuity and reliability in government and administration. You could not in any circumstances arrive at a situation of this kind under the impetus of such negative forces as oppression, repression, denial of human rights and the rest of the ills attributed to South Africa.

More than forty years ago a British statesman, Lord Balfour, said that in South Africa a white nation had established itself in the continent of Africa and that this was something that had never before presented itself in the history of mankind.

This fact has been taken for granted for so long that it seems hardly worth mentioning. But recognition of its significance is surely demonstrated by the close links between South Africa and the West and the substantial traffic in trade, investment and immigration, not merely from the United Kingdom and Europe but also from the rest of the English-speaking world, whose leader is now the United States of America.

It is true that South Africa's withdrawal from the British Commonwealth in 1961 led to the severing of constitutional ties. But many other important ties with the United Kingdom remain strong and cordial. This can also be said of our relations with the other founder-members of the Commonwealth —Canada, Australia and New Zealand. As far as the relationship between South Africa and the United States of America is concerned, they both belong to the Western family of nations and both are integral components of the English-speaking world.

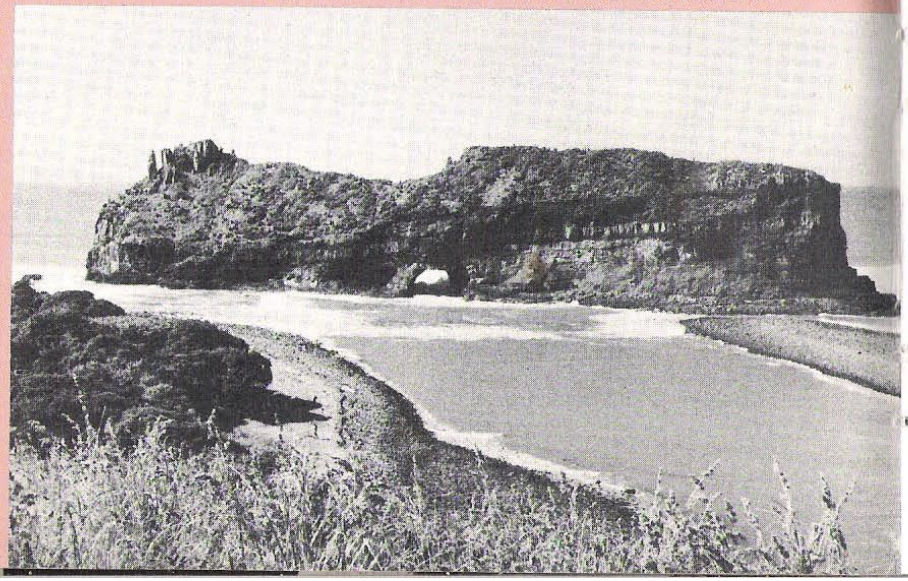
Part of Africa

South Africa is, however, also part of the continent of Africa. On the face of it there may be no mystical significance in the fact that ours is the only state on the continent whose name includes the word "Africa." But for those white people whose home it is, it means that we are of the West in Africa and we are also of Africa in the West.

It is only at this point that I introduce, quite deliberately, the question of relations between the Western or European-descended people in South Africa and the non-Western population groups.

Sea Point on the Atlantic ocean is a popular holiday resort in South Africa.

The Wild Coast of the Transkei is famed for its natural rock formations. This is the Hole in the Wall, near Port St. Johns.



This relationship has been arbitrarily placed in a context of crisis and apprehension by people outside South Africa; but since it is, after all, our problem and not theirs, I think that we are better able to judge where this relationship stands in the scheme of things.

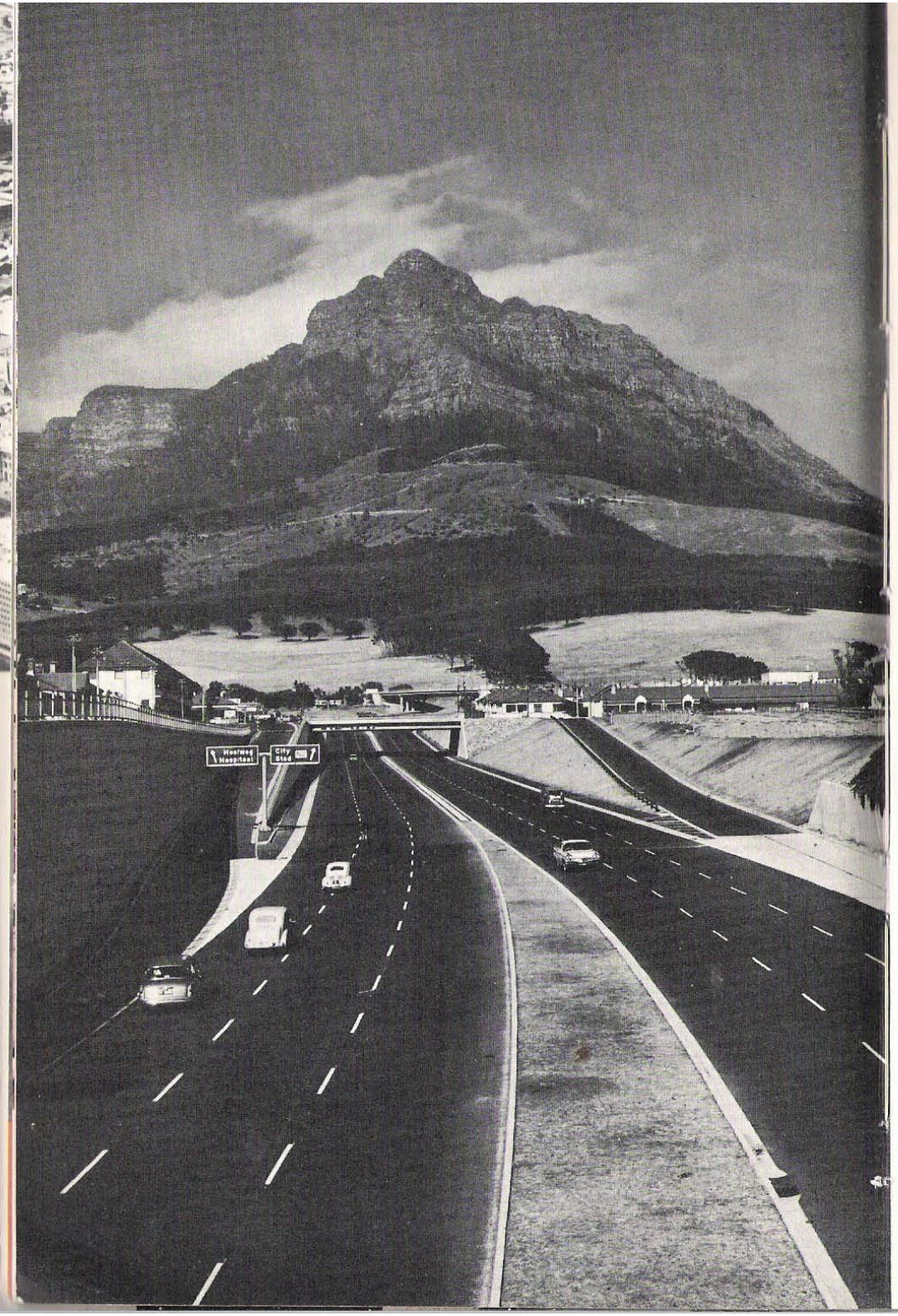
I shall endeavor to explain this relationship to you—as we see it. But before doing so I would like to remind you that inter-racial relations present a challenge throughout the world. What many people fail to realize is that such relations and the problems to which they give rise, vary from one country to another, and that there is therefore no universally applicable solution. The racial set-up in South Africa with which we are dealing, has no parallel anywhere in the world – it is *sui generis*, and from this follows that it requires a special solution.

South Africa occupies a curious position in relation to the 19th century "scramble for Africa" by European powers. It was only indirectly linked to this scramble in that its geographical area was included in the scope of the British Imperial design which embraced so much of the rest of Africa.

Resistance to this design resulted in the Anglo-Boer War at the turn of the century. This in turn produced a pattern of constitutional evolution, based on the existence of a white nation in South Africa, which preceded by many years, the constitutional and emancipatory developments which took place elsewhere on the continent after the Second World War.

It was thus left to the white nation of South Africa, after its own emancipation from Imperialism, to provide the opportunity, to set the pace and to devise a pattern of emancipation for the non-white population.

The choice was simple enough: There were two alternatives, the first of which was to enter into a constitutional, political, economic and social relationship between the white and non-white population groups that would have placed the white people in a position of effective control, and indeed domination, over all the other national groups—a situation which would not have been incompatible with 19th century practice. The second alternative was to devise a pattern of co-existence which would respond positively to the present-day demands of a world-wide trend towards the elimination of domination of one nation by another and self-determination for even the smaller groupings possessing a national and cultural identity.



The initiative in exercising this choice lay with South Africa's white population, and it was used in favor of the second alternative I have just mentioned.

Real Co-existence

The problem, as I have indicated, was to find a satisfactory pattern for co-existence between the white and non-white population groups in South Africa. The solution suggested to the electorate in the 1948 General Election was Separate Development. It was accepted and it was with that mandate that the present Government of the Republic proceeded to its task.

It is not as if the policy of separate development has not been projected by its architects and builders in the idiom of the times. The Prime Minister of South Africa, Dr. H. F. Verwoerd, could hardly have stated the philosophy of his Government's policy in plainer language than the following: *"As long as domination of one race by another exists, there will be resistance and unrest. Consequently the solution should be sought by means of a policy which is calculated to eliminate domination in every form and in every respect."*

Dr. Verwoerd has made many other policy statements in a similar vein, and you will appreciate that these contradict the whole substance of the negative image of South Africa. I therefore do not think that you will find in the files of many newspapers which have for years professed such a tender concern for the well-being of South Africa's population groups, any reference to the statement I have quoted above or to many others which will clearly invalidate the popular misinterpretation of what the Government in South Africa stands for.

In London in March, 1961, the South African Prime Minister declared: *'We want each of our population groups to control and govern themselves, as is the case with other nations. Then they can co-operate as in a commonwealth—in an economic association with the Republic and each other . . . South Africa will in all honesty and fairness proceed to secure peace, prosperity and justice for all by means of political independence coupled with economic interdependence."*

He elaborated on this projection as follows: "I envisage development along the lines similar to that of the British Commonwealth. In other words, I perceive the development

South Africa has planned its roads with the future in mind. Highways like the one above at Cape Town ribbon across the sub-continent.

The Groote Schuur Hospital in Cape Town.

Below: The Baragwanath non-white hospital in South Africa is the largest in the southern hemisphere. Medical services in South Africa for the Bantu are free if they make use of the clinics in the towns.

of a Commonwealth of South Africa in which the white State and the black States . . . can co-operate together, without being joined in a federation and therefore without being under a central government but co-operating as separate and independent states. In such an association no state will lord it over any other."

The ideals and ideas enunciated by Dr. Verwoerd point to the destination of his Government's policy. But the translation of such conceptions into practical reality is not the work of a day or a year. We have, as a rule, avoided the stresses and strains of five-year plans and ten-year plans which never seem to come to fruition in any year. Our progress towards the goals outlined by the responsible leader of the Government has been *dictated by the pace at which it is possible to move.*

If we turn now to consider the progress actually achieved, I think you may find it not unimpressive. Many visitors and observers from other countries have been kind enough to say that it has been astonishing.

If our present international position—or if what you have read in your newspapers—has led you to believe my country to be stagnant and sterile, full of desperately unhappy people, filled with hatred for one another—then consider with me the following facts:

Never in her history has the pace of progress been more pronounced or more purposeful than it is at present in South Africa. Never before has the Republic been more prosperous than she is now. The wheels of industry turn faster than they have ever done before—continually oiled by ever larger injections of capital—both domestic and foreign. Much of the foreign money comes from your country, as direct investment and not "foreign aid."

Economic Boom

Throughout the country the current rate of economic expansion is virtually without precedent. Last year, for example, the gross national product increased by 7.5 per cent. In the first half of 1963 the output of our factories rose by 11 per cent.

Recently a report to the United Nations Budget Committee stated that there are only 26 "developed" countries in the world. *In all Africa there is only one such country—and that country is South Africa.* Even now South Africa produces twice as much steel and electricity as the rest of Africa combined. And already work has started on expansion programs that will double this output within a decade.

The Republic has also embarked upon what will eventually be one of the largest irrigation and hydro-electric projects in the world. The Orange River is to be harnessed in a network of power stations stretching from the Atlantic to the Indian Ocean, bringing water to thousands of farms, to new industries and to towns and cities.

Some 3 billion dollars will be invested in these—and other—projects during the next ten years. All this money can come from our own domestic resources. Most of it will. Some will come from foreign investors. *But not one cent will be foreign aid.*

Meanwhile South Africa continues to produce most of the free world's gold as well as more gem diamonds, more chrome, and more platinum than any other country.

Meanwhile, too, the standard of living of all South Africa's peoples has been rising more rapidly than that of most countries in the world. In fact, in the last decade, *the rate* of increase in the per capita income of all South Africa's citizens equalled that of the United States and Australia, and exceeded those of Canada and New Zealand. A leading economist recently stated that the standard of living in South Africa had doubled in the last forty years, and predicted that the average standard of living for all sections of South Africa's population will be—by the turn of the century—about what it is today for Europe.

It is an undisputed fact that the non-white people of South Africa already have medical services and modern housing which are second to none compared with the rest of the non-white world.

As far as education is concerned, today four out of every five Bantu children are at school. *New schools have been opened at the rate of about one per day.* Already eighty per cent of all Bantu children between seven and twenty years of age, are literate. I am sure you will agree that this is a high rating indeed, in view of the fact that the estimated number of illiterate people in the world today are some 700 million and that the numbers of illiterates elsewhere are still growing by about 20 million a year.

In a highly developed, industrialized country such as South Africa the social progress we are making would, to some degree, have been inevitable, natural and spontaneous.

But only to some degree. Much of what we have achieved has been deliberate policy. For it is *policy* to house and educate South Africa's non-white peoples and to provide

them with work. It is *policy* to train them as teachers, doctors, nurses, law enforcement officers, and for the other professions.

This policy has produced one significant fact that is conveniently killed with silence wherever South Africa is internationally arraigned. It is this: those who slip across our borders to escape from our policies are numbered in tens; those who slip across the border to come and enjoy our hospitality are numbered in tens of thousands. We have now no fewer than 600,000 foreign Africans within our borders. We gain about 25,000 every year.

Paradox?

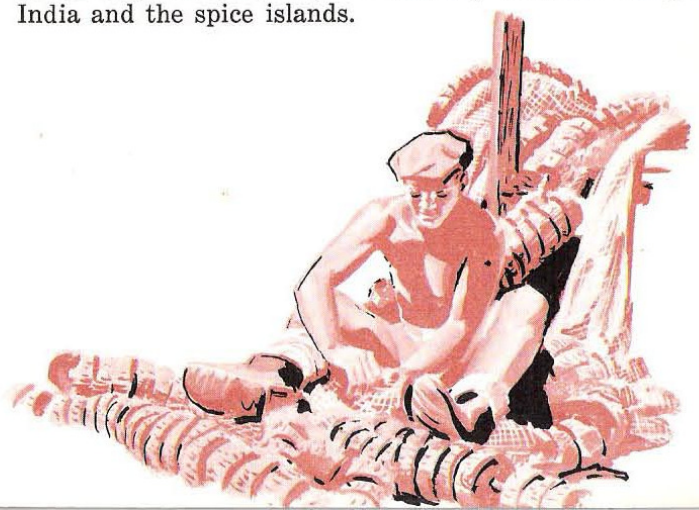
Here, then, we have the perfect paradox of modern international relations. By any criterion South Africa is one of the most successful countries in the world. She is a magnet to tens of thousands of Africans from thousands of miles beyond her borders. She bears no one any malice. She has no hostile intent.

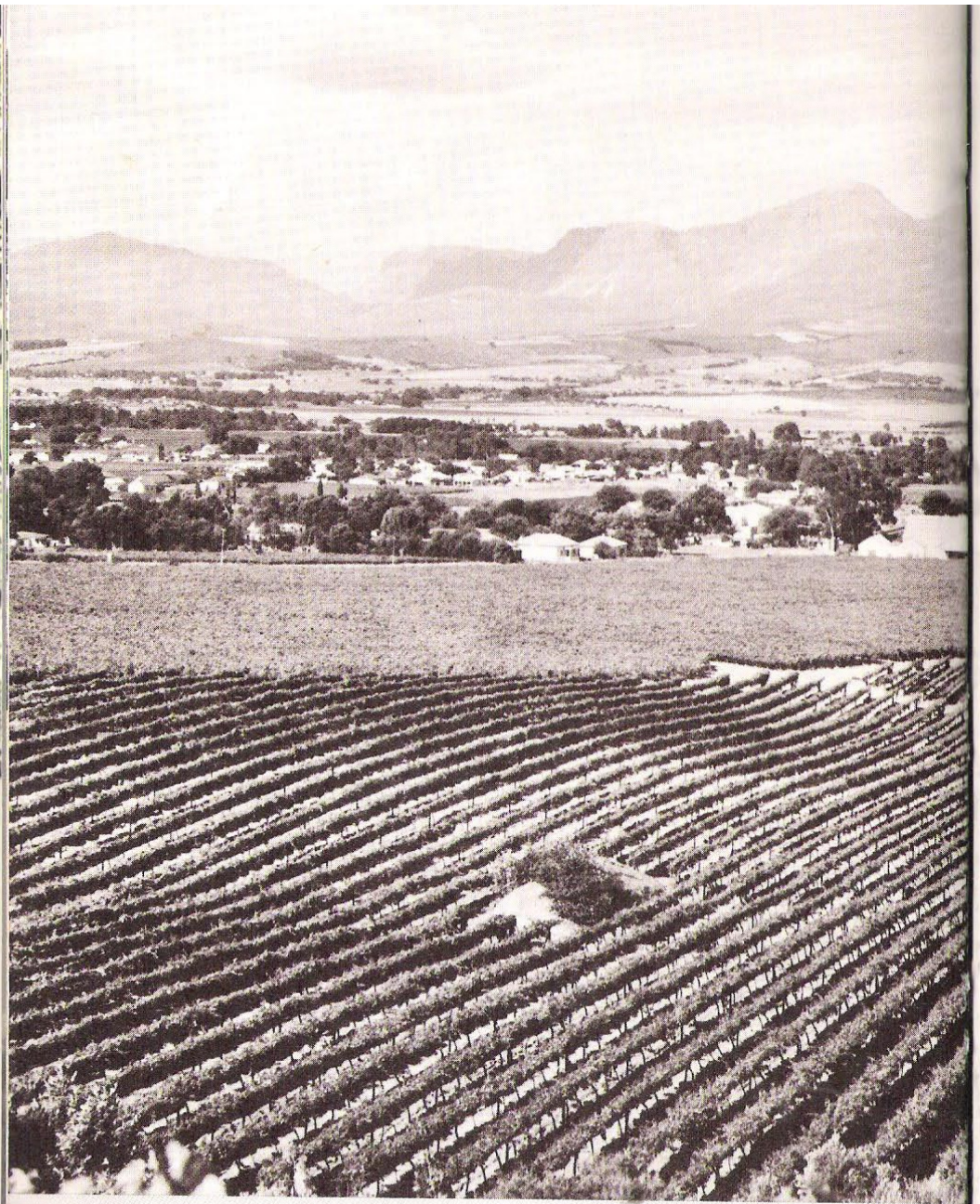
And yet she is subject to formidable pressure from many parts of the world.

Now why should this be?

It is history that provides the answer. For it is history that has afforded South Africa her unique place among the nations of the world. It is history that has carefully – or casually—prepared for her the extraordinary position that she occupies in the world today.

It all began some 300 years ago. At just about the same time as the State of Massachusetts was being established by English settlers, the Dutch established a victualling station at the Cape of Good Hope – half-way between Europe and India and the spice islands.





When the French Huguenots came to South Africa in 1688 they brought with them the art of wine making which has become one of South Africa's most important modern industries. The photograph shows a vineyard in the Paarl valley of the Cape Province.

In both places there were indigenous peoples—in Massachusetts the Indians, in the Cape the Bushmen and Hottentots. The Bushmen still survive. They have taken refuge from civilization and moved to the north where they live their stone-age nomadic lives in peace. Over the years the Hottentots joined with other races and peoples to form the Cape Coloured people of today – a thriving community of some 1,500,000 souls.

One thing above all the two settlements had in common. Both at Massachusetts and at the Cape the settlers introduced a type of social and economic organization that differed absolutely from that of the indigenous peoples. It was *this* organization—developed in Europe—that immediately transformed the very being of these territories and set them—for the first time—on a course of self-perpetuating progress. This was, of course, not exclusive to South Africa or Massachusetts. *It is still one of the facts of history that throughout the "new world" progress has always been in direct proportion to the extent of the European presence: the larger the number of Europeans, the greater was the progress.*

There is another, most remarkable phenomenon—that the two settlements shared. In neither America nor in Africa did the indigenous people adopt the settlers' system, nor the settlers the indigenous system. Individuals did, but the societies remained distinct; the peoples retained their distinctive characteristics and systems.

And it is this phenomenon—above all else—that has been decisive in determining the course of events in South Africa throughout the three centuries that have elapsed since the first settlement at the Cape.

Sporadic Treks

Shortly after the establishment of the victualling station at the Cape, the settlers started moving further afield. They crossed one mountain range. And then another. They moved from one fertile valley to the next. In their wake they left several tiny settlements. With the years these grew into towns, into cities.

Thus the settlers brought life to the vast South African plains. During all this time they met with no other indigenous people. All was empty. All was no man's land.

It was nearly 150 years later and 600 miles from Cape Town that the white pioneers first came into contact with the vanguard of a black migration which was moving southwards. These people had set off from somewhere in Central

Aerial view of Meadowlands, a huge Bantu township in the Transvaal. Meadowlands was established as part of one of the biggest urban renewal projects in the world. Housing experts from many countries feel that South Africa's progress in this field has been phenomenal. Tenants live in brick houses, pay rentals from between $5 to $8 a month for a family dwelling with all amenities. Conditions attract thousands of "border jumpers" who enter South Africa illegally to share in the welfare services of the country. In the last decade $280 million has been spent on urban renewal—rehousing people in the equivalent of 12 new cities of 100,000 inhabitants each.

Africa, had come south in wave upon wave of bloodshed, had crossed what are today the northern borders of the Republic and had occupied certain territories on the eastern seaboard of South Africa. They were the Bantu, the ancestors of the black population of South Africa.

When these two migrations met, there ensued a long series of wars, mostly in the form of border clashes between them. At the same time the internecine warfare among the various Bantu peoples continued. Such clashes are not peculiar to South African history. One point I might make, though. The wars between black and white were not wars of extermination or conquest. This is why the Xhosa nation of today, for instance, is largely resident in the same areas as it had occupied at the end of the 18th century when it first came into contact with European settlement. Similarly in the north of the country there was very little displacement of other Bantu nations. On the contrary, there has taken place in the 20th century what has always been accepted as a temporary "over-spill" of Bantu into areas which had already been settled by Europeans. There is therefore no foundation, whatsoever, for the allegation, so frequently made, that the white man deprived the Bantu in South Africa of land which was traditionally theirs. In fact, for many years the South African Government has augmented the traditional Bantu homelands, which have always been kept intact, by adding to it land which the Government had to purchase from whites.

A century ago there were no more than a million or two Bantu in South Africa. Today there are 11 million. And their numbers are increasing every year.

Of more significance than the wars themselves, however, is this: they were not fought between random collections of individuals, but between *peoples*—peoples with established and vastly disparate systems and organizations; peoples who were all immigrants into what is today South Africa and who over the years had settled different parts of a vast subcontinent.

The hostilities eventually ceased. But there was no blurring of the sharp differences between these distinctive peoples. *The people of European stock refused to compromise with the systems of the Bantu peoples. The Bantu peoples showed no desire to give up their own identity, culture, language and institutions for those of the whites.*

Well tended gardens in the Meadowlands — Bantu township near Johannesburg.

South African fruit is canned and exported all over the world.

Not "Colonial Settlers"

By this time the whites had far outgrown their settler status. Those of Dutch and French Huguenot stock had long before cut all ties with the motherland. They were speaking a new language. Above all, there was growing among them a new infant nationalism which later broadened into a South African nationalism and today embraces also the aspirations of the South Africans of British and other European stock.

But let me revert to 1910, the momentous year in which the Union of South Africa – today the Republic of South Africa—was brought into being. The twentieth century was only ten years old and to most of the world's problems solutions were still being dispensed in terms of the nineteenth century doctrine of *laissez faire*. British South Africa was such a problem and the Act of Union such a solution.

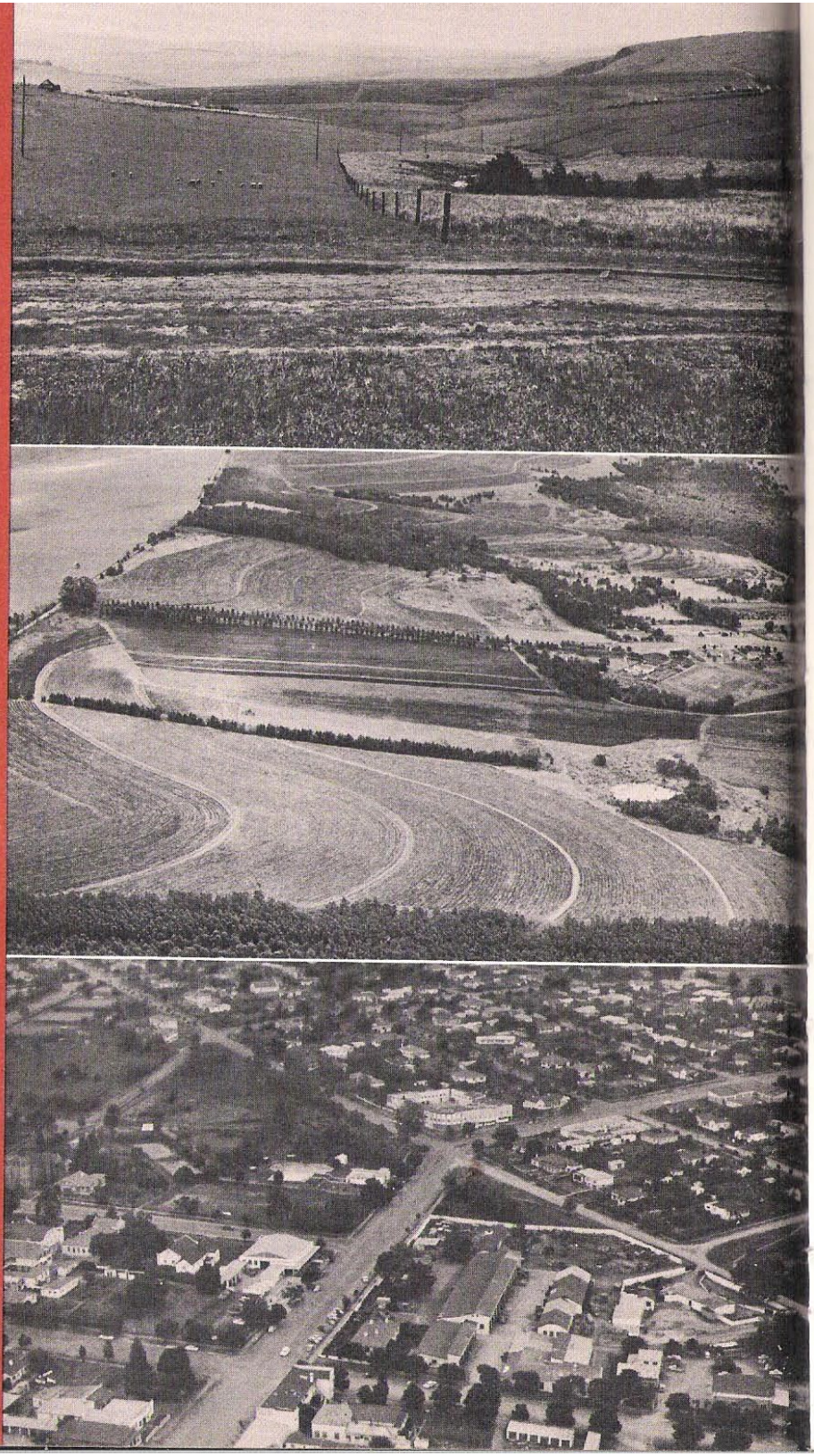
In this Union were brought together, on the one hand, the little white nation-to-be and, on the other hand, a host of mutually distinct Bantu peoples. The dispensation came from Europe and the constitution was essentially a European document, primarily intended to compose the differences that remained between Boer and Briton after the Anglo-Boer War.

The Bantu peoples were, of course, also affected by the new constitution, by the new union, but they had no say in it. They were no more than a marginal consideration. That they were distinctive peoples, that some of them, such as the Zulus, even had an established nationhood of their own—that was completely disregarded. They were to be safeguarded, put under tutelage, protected—but they were not to be peoples in their own right.

In all this there was the implied wish—or hope—that in time individual Bantu might be absorbed – into the European society, of course. What was to become of those that remained —that was hardly given a thought.

This political philosophy—this dispensation of affairs—prevailed for several decades after the establishment of Union. The political institutions of South Africa naturally remained geared to the expression only of the European system. The practitioners of this system remained the nation of European stock. Overwhelmingly so. The Bantu people remained on the fringe of things.

It was only in the early post-war period that this doctrine of *laissez faire* and its implication of European domination began to be seriously challenged. It was then that Africa was set ablaze in a revolution that sought to cast off all forms



of white overlordship, whether these were beneficial or not. The peoples of Africa demanded to rule their own countries in their own way, to score their own achievements and make their own mistakes. They insisted on self-determination, unfettered and absolute.

They demanded the return of their identity and their dignity– unequivocally, both in deed and in word. They rejected out of hand any philosophy that implied the dismembering of their societies. They ridiculed the prospect of becoming imitation European individuals–the most they could have hoped for until then. They demanded once more to be peoples –African peoples. They discovered, fostered and flaunted the African personality.

Realities

This revolution posed the white nation of South Africa a unique problem of awesome proportions. They could not simply ignore the radical changes in Africa. Their country was, after all, inescapably part of that continent. Sooner or later, therefore, they would have to concede and accept the right to self-determination also of the Bantu peoples or nations within the borders of South Africa.

But history had put them in a position without parallel in Africa. Elsewhere on the continent the response of the colonial powers to the new challenge was a simple one: they withdrew and left the African peoples to rule themselves. But the white South Africans were not "colonialists." *They had by then firmly established their own distinctive nationhood in a homeland that they had not taken from anyone.* They had won their own right to self-determination only a few decades earlier. And this they were not prepared to sacrifice in any circumstances.

For they insisted–and still insist–that self-determination, like liberty, must be indivisible. They argue that if all African nations are entitled to self-determination, then surely their own nation is too.

Opposite page: top—Grassland contrasts starkly with fenced, protected land showing the Transkeians the need to protect grazing land.

Middle: Contour plowing on the rolling hills in this high rainfall area prevents soil erosion, a scourge throughout the whole of Africa.

Bottom: A general view of Umtata, capital of the new state.

Timber reaches maturity in the Transkei with its high rainfall and moderate climate from 5 to 7 times more quickly than in northern climates. A conservation program has been carried out for a number of years in an attempt to make the Transkeians aware of the economic possibilities of timber production. In the past saplings were haphazardly cut down to make roofing poles for huts but today the Transkeians operate a timber factory at Vulindlela ("open the doors") which produces about 700,000 articles annually for local consumption ranging from sophisticated housing material, school desks to lowly fencing poles.

South Africa was therefore faced with this agonizing dilemma: how to provide for the inevitable progress to self-determination of the Bantu nations, without infringing the autonomy of the white nation. How indeed?

But was there any real choice at all? Indeed no. For to this problem, posed in this way, history and the realities of Africa dictated only one solution. And that solution was the separate, but full, development of South Africa's peoples. And that, briefly, is what we are attempting to do.

On the one hand the Republic is safeguarding the distinctive nationhood of her people of European stock as history enjoins her to do. At the same time she is helping the various Bantu nations within her borders to find themselves and to be themselves, as the lessons of Africa enjoin her to do.

Transkei

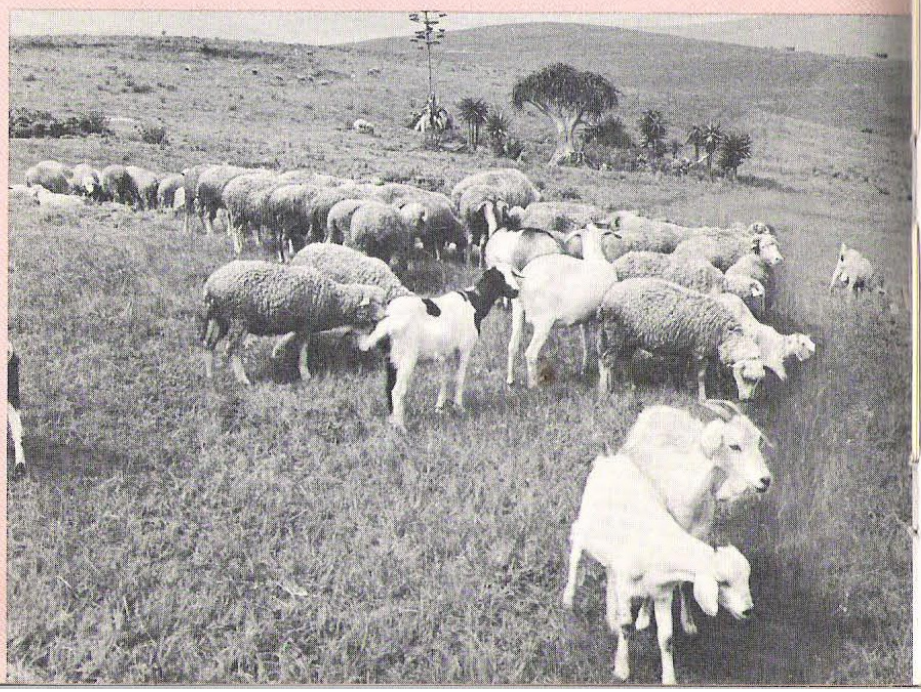
She is aiding these nations to become self-sufficient, ordering their own affairs at all levels of national activity. She sets no ceiling to this development. The aim is viable and autonomous Bantu nations alongside, and in co-operative association with, the white nation. And all these separate nations will have their own historical homelands which had always been exclusively theirs.

So far have we progressed in the implementation of this policy that one of South Africa's Bantu nations will this month vote for their own parliament. They are the 3,000,000 Xhosas, whose homeland is the Transkei, in the Eastern Cape, a territory as large as Vermont and New Jersey put together.

From the outset the Transkei government will be invested with substantial power to legislate for the territory and its people. And this power will grow, until, sooner or later, the Transkei will be an autonomous state. That is policy.

Meanwhile social and economic progress in the territory is keeping pace with political development. Already five of every six Transkei children are at school and a current five-year program calls for the expenditure by the South African Government of 160 million dollars in the Transkei and other Bantu homelands.

The Xhosas of the Transkei will therefore be the first to win their right to self-determination in their historical homeland. They will be followed by other Bantu nations. The die is cast and the political map is being irrevocably redrawn in South Africa. (These developments have since taken place —see chapter IV onwards.)



Above: A cattle show in South Africa. Below: A mixed herd of Bantu livestock near Tsolo. One of the present problems is overgrazing and large tracts are being fenced off and rested.

And it is these developments, too, that the world condemns when it condemns separate development.

Some of the critics who condemn our policy maintain that what they want to see in South Africa is a non-racial democracy, which will be neither African nor European in character.

This sounds very *admirable*. But it is not *feasible*. For it flies directly in the face of all the facts of Africa. The reason is simple and obvious. For if Africa has done one thing, she has shown conclusively that her peoples have no desire to be recast in a foreign mold.

We must always remember that the way of Africa is not necessarily the way of Europe—or of the West. That is another lesson of Africa. For almost nowhere on that continent have the inherited systems of Europe survived intact for long. Least of all the systems of government.

Far be it from me to say that this is a good thing or a bad thing; that it is right or that it is wrong. After all, no two countries in the world order their affairs in identically the same manner.

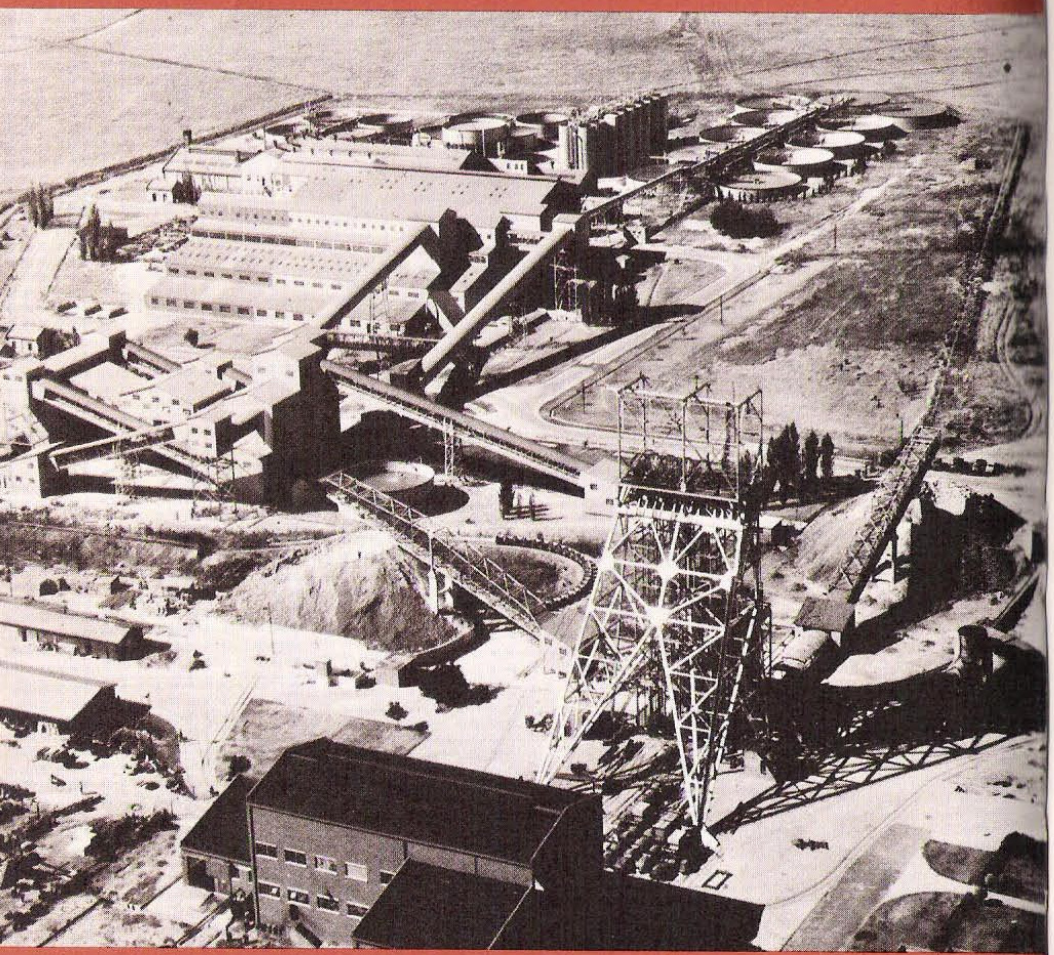
As far as the South African nation of European stock is concerned, we are determined to continue to practice the system which is our heritage and has its roots in Western traditions. To ensure this, South Africa must be given the opportunity to carry through her policy of separate development.

My plea, therefore, is that our friends should make a real endeavor to comprehend the true nature of our problem, the fundamental aims of our policy, i.e. the solution, and recognize the tremendous progress we have already achieved. They will then, we firmly believe, take no action which will impede the measures we are taking to bring our policies to fulfillment.

My plea is based on the merits of our policy. For our policy is directly in line with the African revolution, which has as its main objective self-determination for all. In fact, we as the first of the African nationalists anticipated that revolution long before it ever reached the proportions it has today.

At the same time our policy is in accordance with the fundamental philosophies of the West. We do not deny the individuality and dignity of man. What we do say—what our unique situation has taught us to say—is that each man has his dignity and his individuality within the society that he understands, which is his own.

This is our case, our challenge. Therein too, lies the key to South Africa's relationship with the West, with Africa, and with the world.



South Africa produces about 70 percent of the free world's gold—no mean stabilizer for any economic system. Production is rising annually.

Facing Realities

The following is an abridged version of the speech presented in the United Nations General Assembly on October 10, 1963, by Mr. G. P. Jooste, Secretary of Foreign Affairs of the Government of South Africa, who was leader of the South African Delegation to the Eighteenth Session. Mr. Jooste is a past Ambassador to the United States and the United Kingdom.

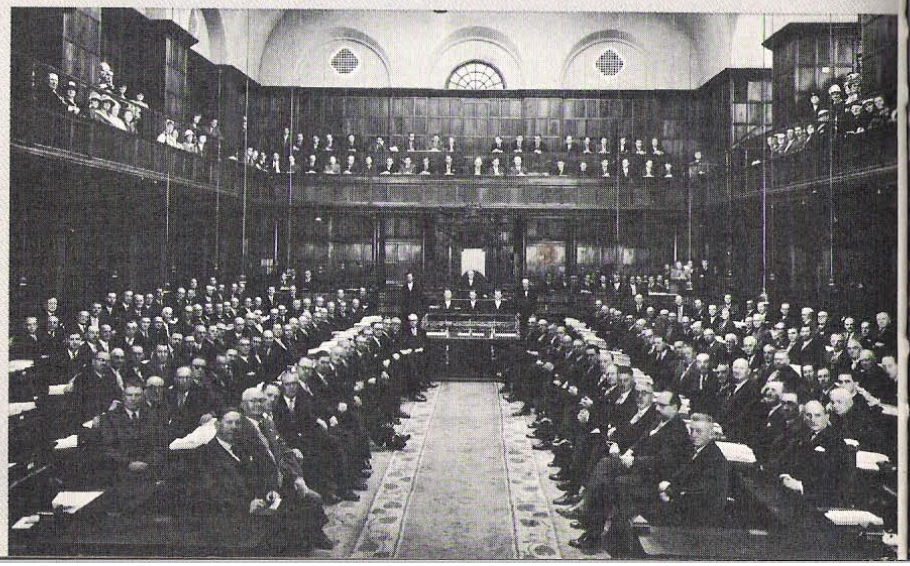
THE South African delegation did not come to New York in order to engage other delegations in a dialectic contest. In our view such an approach to international intercourse is sterile. It will get us nowhere, and can only do harm to all concerned. We have often said in the past, and I repeat today, that national pride is not the prerogative of any one nation, or of any single group of nations. To this I would add that truth and justice are not expendable attributes of morality – or fruitful international intercourse.

If we are to have world peace, and if the nations of the world are to live in harmonious circumstances which would enable each one of them to devote its full attention and apply all its resources and energy to the solution of its own peculiar problems, then, we shall have to put into practice those concepts which are fundamental in the rules of propriety and justice which must govern the affairs of the international community.

We also have our own views as to what is taking place in the internal lives of other nations. But before coming to any final conclusion, it would be better, and certainly fairer, to ensure that our critics are in possession of all the facts.

Now, what are the main charges against South Africa—charges which have been made despite every effort on our part to demonstrate the false assumptions upon which criticism of our affairs are based? I believe I can summarize them in a single sentence: It is alleged that the South African people of European origin are temporary settlers with no right to a permanent homeland of their own in Africa; that we have taken the country which we claim to be our homeland from

Above: A meeting of the Transkeian Territorial Authority shortly before the transfer of self-government. Below: The Parliamentary Assembly of white South Africa in Cape Town.



others and that our Government is therefore an "alien" government: that we seek to maintain our position by coercion and perpetual repression and that our policy, which has been described as one of inherent racial hatred and superiority, is founded on a denial of the right of self-determination: all of which constitute a threat to the peace of the world.

It is true, of course, that *many* of the incorrect statements concerning South Africa's affairs were based, not on hostility, but on real misconceptions—and misinterpretation of the facts. The reason for this may well be that the impact upon the speakers concerned of the often vicious propaganda against us has created an image which others could not but view with disapproval.

Examine Whole Scene

Now, insofar as these delegates are concerned I would only ask them to take a fresh look at the South African scene, and to do so with a greater measure of objectivity—with a more open mind.

The problem which overshadows the South African scene and which must be given the highest priority in our domestic policies, is the relationship between the South African nation of European descent and the many Bantu nations who presently live under the sovereignty of the South African Government. This is the problem of which we must *first of all* dispose before we can give our entire attention to such residual problems which affect other, smaller population groups. This does not mean that these problems, which I have termed "residual problems," do not receive attention. They do. Indeed they receive our constant attention; but we will be able to deal with them much more effectively after we have dealt with the position of the great numbers of Bantu who constitute several distinct and separate nations.

Africa not only home of black men

In order to achieve a proper understanding of the position it is necessary to recognize the fundamental fact that Africa is not the exclusive preserve of any one race—whatever the general image may be. Africa has over the millennia of history been the home of many widely differing nations. There is no single African race—just as little as there is a single Asian race, or a single American race. This is a fact of history which must always be borne in mind.

The European population established itself on the Southern tip of Africa more than three centuries ago—without in any way settling on land occupied by others. As for the Bantu people, they were migrating Southward down the coast of

East Africa; and it was nearly 150 years after the first white settlement that these two main groups met.

When this happened border clashes took place periodically during the first half of the 19th century, yet, despite this the Xhosa nation of today is largely resident in the same areas as it had occupied at the end of the 18th century when it first came into contact with the European settlement. Similarly in the North of what is today South Africa there was very little displacement of other Bantu nations. On the contrary, there has taken place in the present century what has always been accepted as a temporary "over-spill" of Bantu into areas which had already been settled by Europeans. There is therefore no foundation for the allegation, so frequently made, that the European deprived the Bantu in South Africa of land which was traditionally theirs. In fact, for many years the South African Government has augmented the traditional Bantu homelands, which have been kept intact, by adding land which the Government purchased from whites.

It is against this background and in this perspective that our problem, and what we are doing with regard to it, must be viewed.

White Africans

The fact which emerges (fundamental to our position on the African continent) is that the South Africans of European origin have been forged into a single and distinctive nation. It is no longer a European nation, although it is closely linked with Western culture and civilization. *It is a nation of Africa, with roots and traditions deeply embedded in the soil of that continent. These roots cannot be destroyed and the white South Africans claim for themselves all the inalienable rights of an autonomous and separate nation.* They further claim the right to live and to survive as a nation with its own distinctive identity—a fundamental right which, as must all other nations who wish to survive, they will defend by every means at their disposal.

It is true, of course, that today this nation of European stock has an over-all responsibility for promoting the welfare and progress of all those who live under the sovereignty of its Government. This has been the process of history. But, it is

The Tsista waterfall in the Transkei which the Chief Minister has announced will be harnessed to supply hydro electric power for the whole area together with the future possibility of coal mining to produce electric power, the Transkei offers great opportunities for sustaining industrial expansion.

Bantu graduates of the University of Fort Hare which is the oldest Bantu University in South Africa and which now serves the new Xhosa state.

The Xhosa also have another graduation ceremony—that of the Abakwetha when young men are initiated into tribal life and responsibility.

essential that in claiming for ourselves a distinctive destiny of our own, *we do not* deny to the emerging Bantu nations their right to achieve distinctive destinies of their own—each in his own homeland with its own culture, heritage, language and concept of nationhood. This is fundamental in our approach to the problem; and the Bantu are beginning, more and more, to accept the fact that the South African Government will always endeavour to promote these rights not only as moral and inalienable rights.

Nations Are Not Interchangeable

In South Africa, natural differences—i.e., the different attributes and identities (and not the superiority or the inferiority of any one of these nations) which exist between the various national communities, have proved to us, over the centuries, that there can be no real and permanent solution in the circumstances which obtained in the past. A permanent solution can, therefore, only be found if each of the South African nations is afforded the opportunity of achieving full nationhood with full political responsibility within its own homeland.

In this connection we of European origin are fortified in the pursuit of our aims by the lesson of history that the domination of one nation over another cannot afford a *permanent* solution.

Many statements by our Prime Minister outline the fundamentals of South African policy. In 1960 he stated:

> *"The essential condition (to a stable and prosperous country) is that racial domination will have to be removed. As long as domination of one race by another exists, there wil be resistance and unrest. Consequently the solution should be sought by means of a policy which is calculated to eliminate domination in every form and in every respect."*

> ***In March, 1961, Dr. Verwoerd said:***
> *"We do not only seek and fight for a solution which will mean our survival as a white race, but we also seek a solution which will ensure survival and full development —politically and economically—to each of the other racial groups as well, and we are prepared to pay a high price out of our earnings, to ensure their future.*
>
> *"The moral problem, just like the political problem, is to find a way out of the extremely difficult and complicated situation, caused by the fact that no longer is the black man incapable or undesirous of participation in the con-*

trol of his destiny. Nor is there any longer anyone prepared to refuse the fulfillment of such ambitions in a form that is fair to all."

The Prime Minister went on to say:

"We want each of our population groups to control and to govern itself as is the case with other nations. Then all can cooperate as in a commonwealth – in an economic association with the Republic and with each other. . . . South Africa will proceed in all honesty and fairness to secure peace, prosperity and justice for all by means of political independence coupled with economic inter-dependence."

In another statement the Prime Minister said:

"I envisage development along the lines similar to that of the (British) Commonwealth. In other words, I perceive the development of a Commonwealth of South Africa, in which the White State and the Black States can cooperate together, without being joined in a federation, and therefore without being under a central government, but cooperating as separate and independent States. In such an association no State will lord it over any other. They will live rather as good neighbors."

The South African Government's objective is to achieve the political independence of the various Bantu nations within their homelands–and thus also to eliminate domination in every form and in every respect, as well as to enable the present Bantu homelands to develop into separate Bantu Nation States.

I have quoted our Prime Minister's words on the aim of achieving an association based on the commonwealth pattern of cooperating states. This would forge a link which would establish permanent contact, as good neighbors, and cooperation with regard to the many matters of common concern.

As Dr. Verwoerd said:

"... seeing that we want to develop those areas for them (i.e. the Bantu), can you not understand that we shall bring discrimination to an end by coming together and consulting at a high level on the basis of equality, of equal human dignity through the establishment, for example, of a Commonwealth Conference of our own?"

Mr. President, here we now have the Government's policy insofar as the charge of "perpetual domination" is concerned, and the manner in which we are marching towards a future which holds out hope of survival, of complete political independence, and of realistic contacts and cooperation. Here we

also have the essence of orderly and planned self-determination.

We have often been accused that however realistic and moral our policy may sound when it is described in terms which I have employed, the question remains as to whether we are in earnest to achieve the proclaimed objectives. We have long since realized that, having regard to the image which has been created outside the confines of our own country–we will, in the final analysis, have to rely on practical achievements–that we will have to produce concrete results in order to convince the world of our *bona fides* as well as of the realism and practicability of what we have set out to achieve.

Prototype

This evolution of self-government in the Transkei provides a prototype for the development of self-government in other Bantu homelands, but since the patterns in South Africa are so diverse the arrangements may not be identical and will have to be adapted by the Bantu to the needs and the aspirations of their emerging nations. For every Bantu nation the issue of ultimate self-determination is a fully accepted objective of Government policy.

Here now, is real proof of what we are trying to do–and I leave it to all delegates of goodwill to judge whether our policy is doomed to failure–or whether the Government of my country should not be given an opportunity to proceed along these lines which, as must be evident, could well be the solution of a unique problem requiring a unique approach.

Racism?

I would like to add that the suggestion that South African policy derives from, or is inspired by, racial hatred, does not bear even a superficial examination. The allegation emanates largely from those who are influenced by passions which are familiar to them in their own environment but who know nothing about the South African scene. It derives also from the campaign conducted against us–in many cases by subversive forces–whose activities inside South Africa we are obliged to combat by appropriate means – as is done in all countries.

No serious critic with full knowledge of the South African situation, however honest his criticisms may be in other respects–can legitimately subscribe to the thesis that the concept of separate development is founded on hatred of the Bantu. On the contrary, every South African concerned with policy-making understands only too well that friendship and mutual respect provide the only sound basis on which to build

Above: A vast land reclamation project has been launched in the Transkei. More than 14,000 miles of fencing have been put up to protect the lands against heavy grazing. Bales of barbed wire outside Umtata before dispatch to the country areas. Lower picture: Crop rotation and the introduction of western type products are some of the features of this agricultural project—a Bantu farmer tends his cabbages.

a healthy relationship between the white and Bantu nations.

We Will Succeed

Equally wrong is the charge that the white South African nation is endeavouring to entrench its position because of fear. Let me assure this Assembly that fear is not an element in the motivation of our policies. Our Government is confident that we will ultimately succeed in our task. Had it not been for this absolute confidence, based as it is on our knowledge of our own affairs, we could not have withstood, for so long, the incredible onslaught on us both in and outside this Organization.

It is not conflict we desire but peace—peace in order to proceed with our great task—a task which requires all our resources, energy, and time.

Moreover, we want to live in peace and cooperate with all other countries—including those who are in Africa. In our relations with these African countries cooperation in all matters of common concern was always a fundamental aim in South African policy. That this is so we have already demonstrated in a tangible way. They, however, have seen fit now to deny us the opportunity of continuing the cooperation which proved so fruitful in the past.

This cooperation has covered a wide range of technical problems and assistance has been rendered on a considerable scale—for example by the world famous Veterinary Laboratory at Onderstepoort, the South African Institute for Medical Research, the Bureau of Standards, the Council of Scientific and Industrial Research and many other technical institutes. Millions of vaccines have been despatched to various African countries and there has been a regular exchange of visits between technical experts. In 1960-62 South African experts made 40 visits to 11 African States and in the same period experts from 15 African States paid more than 60 visits to South Africa. Even now South Africa contributes by way of financial aid and expert advice to combat agricultural problems in other African States.

Maturity Takes Time

Although much of this technical collaboration has recently been rejected by the other African States it is possible that as time passes, and as they achieve a clearer perception of our true aims, in our own country and in our contacts beyond our frontiers, wiser counsel will prevail and that cooperation in all fields of common concern will be resumed. For, we are confident that, given the proper opportunity and atmosphere, we shall be able to make a material contribution in the pursuit of the orderly and peaceful development of Africa.

Mr. M. D. C. de Wet Nel, Minister of Bantu Administration and Development.

Chapter IV

To Each His Own

The following chapter is an abridged version of a speech delivered in the South African Parliament by Mr. M. D. C. de Wet Nel, Minister of Bantu Administration and Development when he introduced the second reading debate on the Bill to grant self-government to the Transkei. The contents of this Bill were approved by the Transkeian Territorial Authority and the South African Parliament.

THIS Bill is the logical projection of the pattern and policy of the people of South Africa with regard to our multi-national situation—a policy not created out of political hallucinations or ideologies, but which has grown systematically out of experience, and knowledge over a period of more than three centuries of contact with African realities.

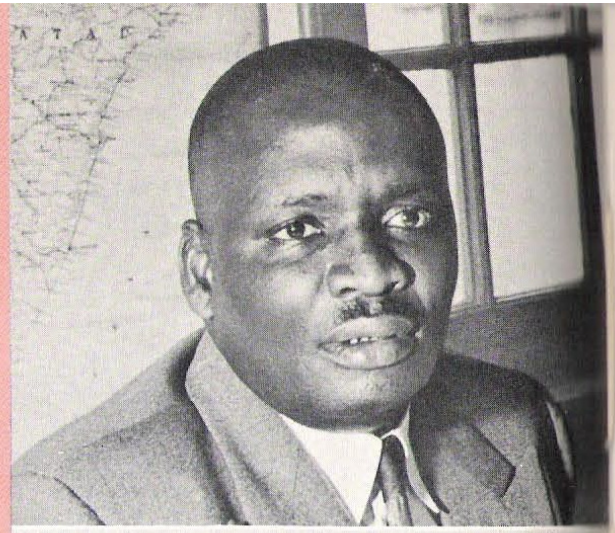
It is founded on a simple but basic formula for personal happiness and human relations, namely that every person is at his happiest within his own family circle; that every family is at its happiest within its own community, and every community is at its happiest within its own national environment. This principle holds true for all people irrespective of race or color throughout the whole world. It is even more applicable to the Bantu (blacks) because, as any anthropologist can testify, this is one of the basic characteristics in the social structure of the Bantu.

Paternalism—Common Sense?

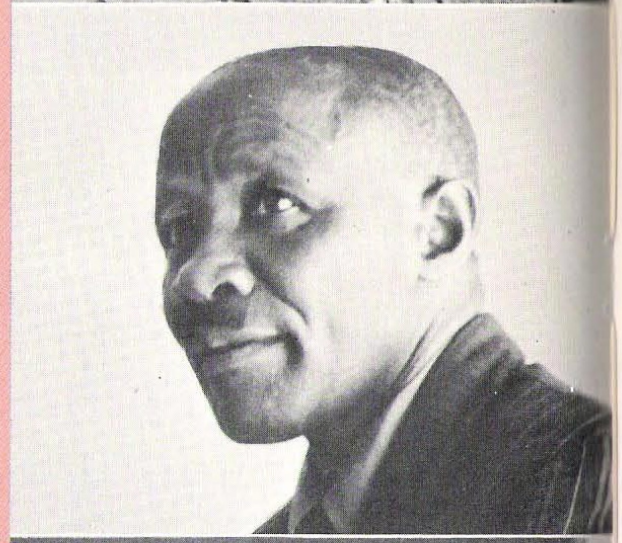
Furthermore, it should be remembered that our nation's approach to its multi-national situation is not the result of the whims of so-called world opinion, or of opportunistic considerations of self-interest, but the fruit of our attitude to life —with its predominant approach of "live and let live."

It is for these reasons that the basic philosophy of the apartheid policy of our nation has, in general, been morally of such a nature that we need not be ashamed of ourselves—something which can be said of very few other new white nations in the world.

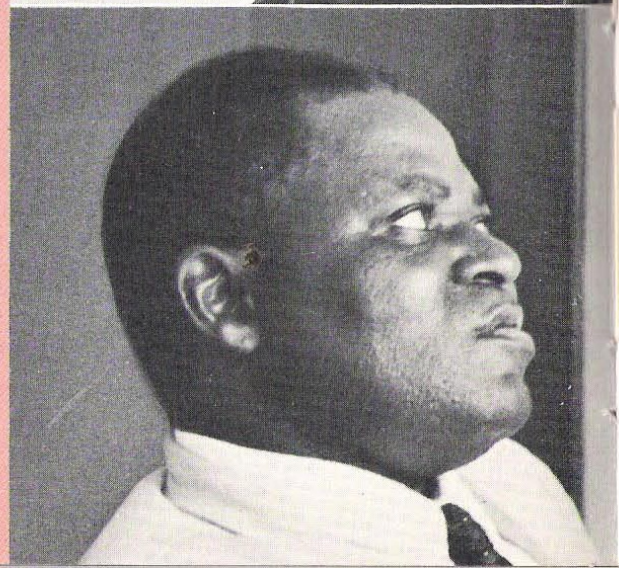
- Our people never enslaved the Bantu
- Our nation saved the Bantu from large-scale internecine extermination and created order out of primitive chaos



Mr. E. M. Mbuli—Treasurer of the former Transkeian Territorial Authority. Mr. Mbuli, a qualified lawyer, is typical of the men employed in administrative positions by the new Transkeian government.



Mr. S. Dazama, a Bantu sub-inspector of schools in the Transkei. Mr. Dazama has been teaching for forty years and has a number of educational publications to his credit.

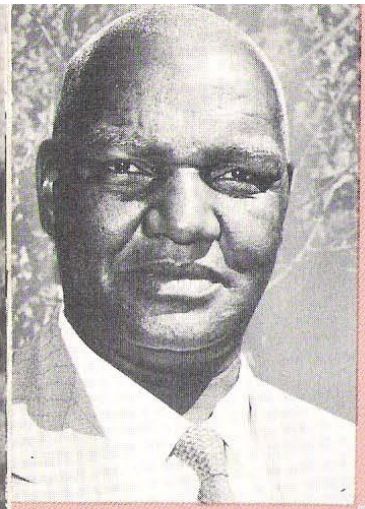


Mr. P. Makongwana, another of the Bantu sub-inspectors of the Transkeian educational system.

- We recognized the homelands of the Bantu national groups, protected them against White penetration and later extended them
- We protected the riches of the Bantu territories against white exploitation; guarded against over-cropping and preserved them for the Bantu
- To the best of our ability we helped the Bantu to develop spiritually and materially:
  - (a) The best of Western civilization was placed at their disposal
  - (b) Relatively speaking, no nation anywhere in the world has done as much for the welfare and happiness of its nonwhite population as the South Africans
  - (c) Our churches, relatively speaking, spend more on mission work than any other denominations in the world.
- We did not follow a policy of denationalization of the Bantu. Our policy is expressly aimed at preventing alienation from one's own community, and at encouraging the principle of service to and building of one's own national community.
- We respect the language and culture of every national group and recognize the dignity of man within his own national circle.
- We believe, however, that these groups should benefit from the fruits of what is best in Western civilization.
- We refuse to bundle them together in a "Congolese confusion" to satisfy our own selfishness, and will not allow disintegration to be brought about for reasons of our own self-interest.
- We have always believed that they should be aided systematically towards managing their own affairs, while they determine their own paths.

Stability and Progress

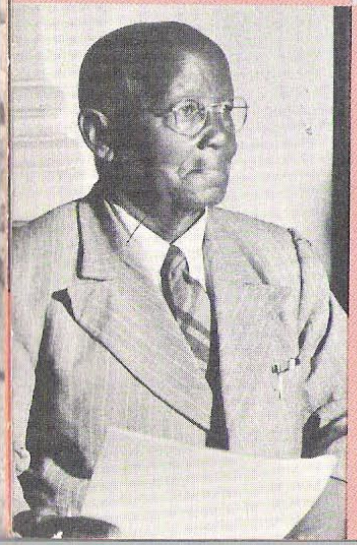
When we regard the chaotic conditions today reigning in other parts of Africa, we are even more convinced that we are on the right road. The fact remains that whereas elsewhere in Africa disorder and chaos reign, South Africa experiences tranquility and peace. Whereas economic retrogression exists there, *we* have the greatest measure of stability and economic progress. While elsewhere white and black have each other by the throats or threaten each other, it is still possible in South Africa for White and Black to confer peace-



Paramount Chief Victor Poto, leader of the opposition in the new state of the Transkei. Chief Poto leads the Democratic Party.

Meetings of the Transkei Legislative Assembly are open to the public and the press.

Fifty years ago most of the Bantu in South Africa were illiterate. In 1962 thirty million dollars were spent on advertising in the Bantu press of South Africa alone, about 40 newspapers and periodicals now circulate among the Bantu of which the Transkei are the most literate group.



A dignified old man and a member of the former Transkeian Territorial Authority.

fully over our mutual future, as has again been illustrated by the discussions and deliberations on this Bill, to grant self-government to the Transkei.

This Bill offers the clearest possible proof that we are in earnest about apartheid and that when we say we grant the Bantu that which we demand for ourselves, it is not just lip-service. We are really prepared to implement our policy fully and create for the Bantu the opportunity to manage his own affairs in accordance with his own abilities in the political sphere, within his own homeland, and so to work out his own future. Moreover, white South Africa, as befits a friend, is prepared to assist the Bantu to the best of its ability in all spheres, also administratively and financially, in order to make a success of this political development in Bantu territory—an evolvement only made possible now after sound preliminary work and the laying of a solid foundation upon which the future can be built.

The main objection is that with our policy we are carving up the country. I wish to state that this is by no means the case, but that this Bill is strictly in accordance with the traditional policy of the country as formulated and applied for generations. The Bill actually gives expression to two great principles in our traditional Bantu policy towards which nearly all statesmen of note had worked to a greater or lesser degree:

Firstly, that the Bantu should have his own homeland which should be reserved and protected; and

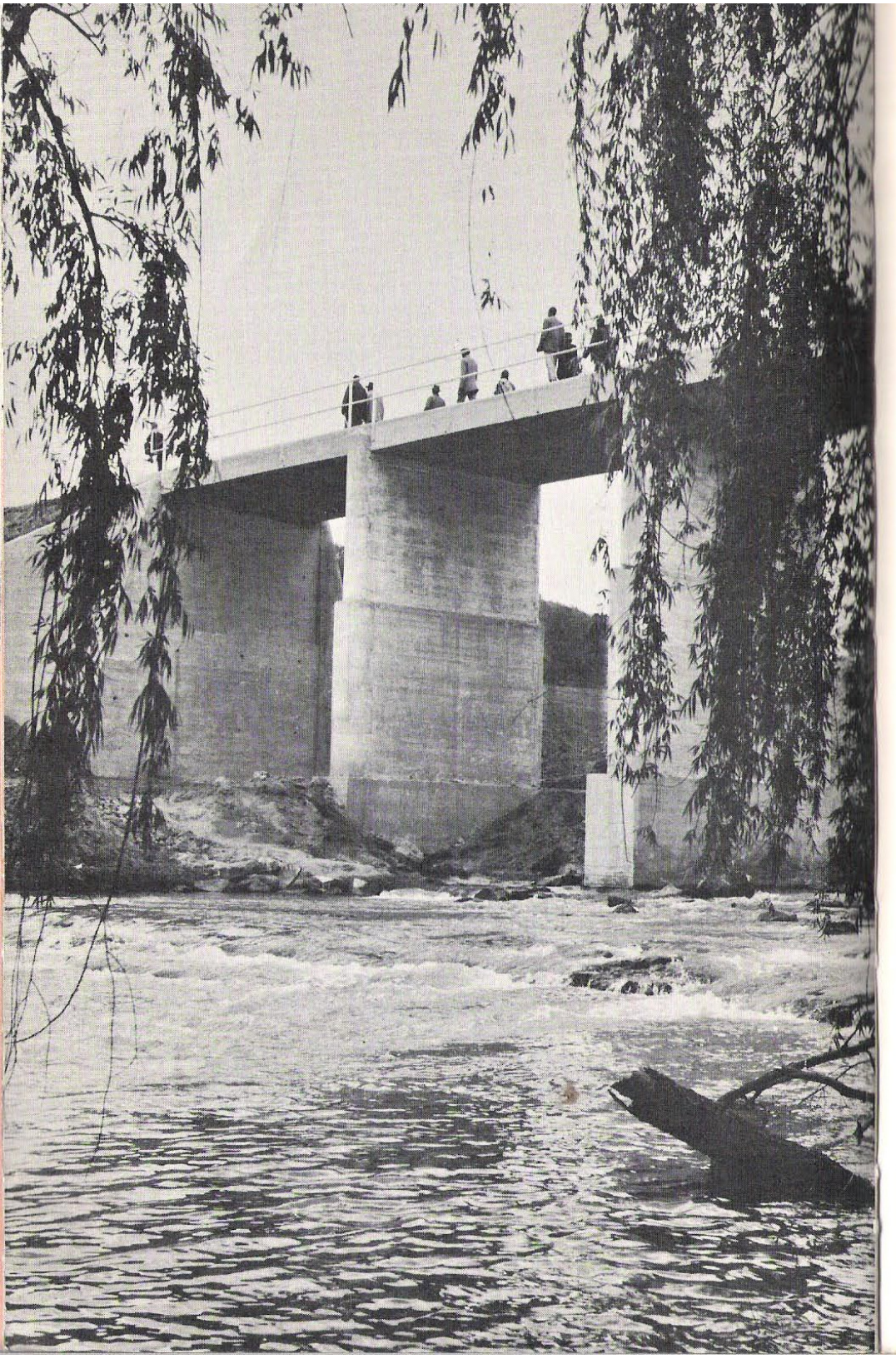
Secondly, that the Bantu should in these homelands receive a growing measure of self-government. There have been differences about the manner, degree and time of self-government, e.g. whether it should be according to the Western pattern or an extension of the traditional Bantu system of administration.

Historical Background—Real, not Artificial Partition

In support of my statement that these two cornerstones of our policy have for generations been generally accepted, advocated and applied in South Africa, not only by Republican governments but also by various British governments, I wish, inter alia, to stress the following:

(i) That the Bantu areas of the Ciskei between the Great Fish River and the Great Kei River were demarcated by the British government as far back as 1878;

(ii) That the present-day Transkei, from the earliest times,



has been regarded as a purely Bantu area and that it has retained its identity as a Bantu area also since its annexation by the Cape Colony in 1879;

(iii) That as far back as 1839 the Voortrekkers started with the demarcation of areas in Natal, and this was continued by the British government from 1843;

(iv) That separate areas were demarcated and allocated to the Natal Native Trust in 1864, while in 1897 Zululand was incorporated into Natal though retaining its identity;

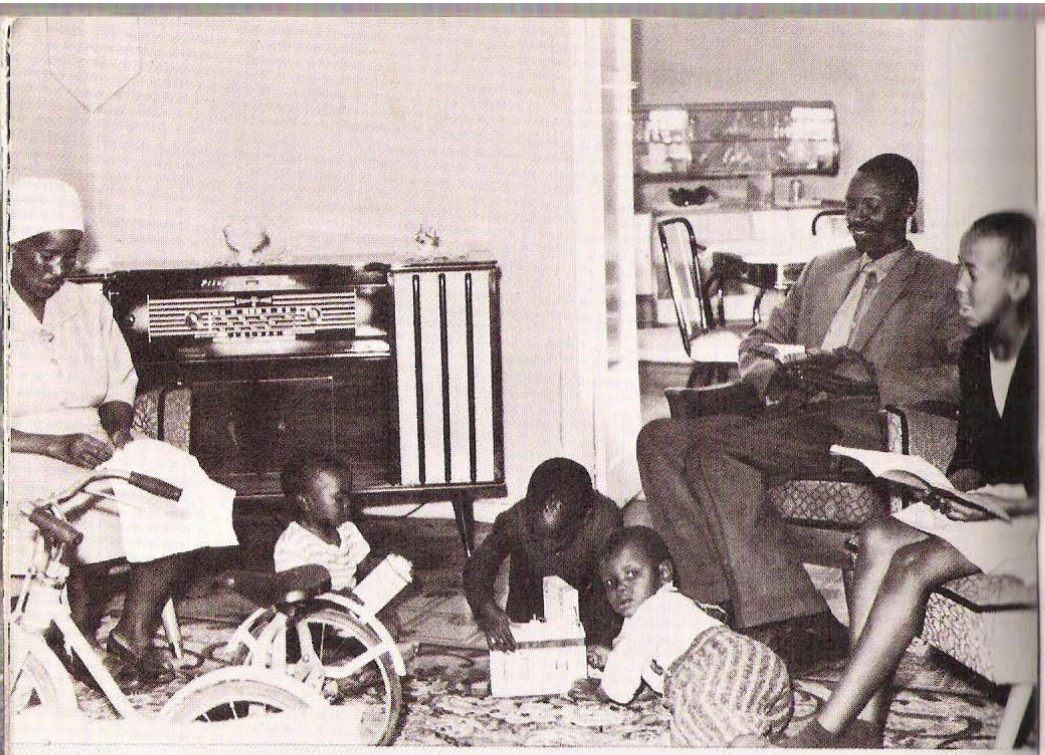
(v) That in the Transvaal a start was made with the allocation of land to tribes in 1853 and that a standing Natives Location Commission in 1861 commenced defining these areas;

(vi) That the Free State also recognised the principle of separate Bantu areas and already in 1867 allocated Witsieshoek to the Mopeli and Batlokoa tribes, while Thaba 'Nchu was reserved in 1884 for the Barolong.

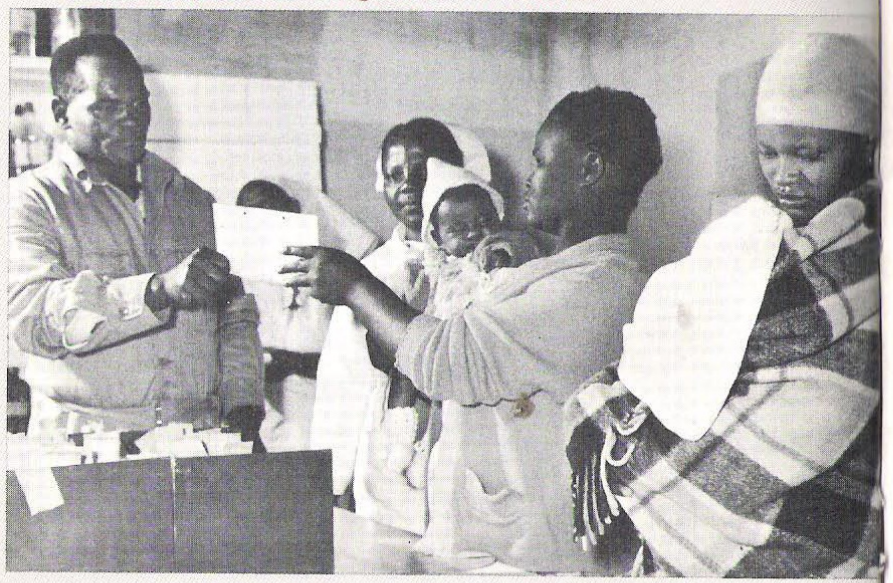
Apart from smaller splinter areas, the following main areas occupied by the different Bantu national groups, existed at the end of the 19th century: Vendaland in the far Northern Transvaal occupied by the Venda; parts of the Letaba area by the Tsonga; Sekhukhuneland in the Northern and North-Eastern Transvaal by the North Sotho; Bechuanaland with the inclusion of parts of the North-West Cape and Western Transvaal by the Tswana; Basutoland with the inclusion of Witsieshoek and parts of the Northern Transkei by the South Sotho; Swaziland with the inclusion of parts of Barberton, Piet Retief and Northern Zululand by the Swazi; Zululand and certain other parts of Natal by the Zulu, and the Transkei together with parts of the Ciskei by the Xhosa. Of these, the following Bantu areas were already clearly demarcated; Xhosaland, Zululand, Swaziland, Basutoland and Bechuanaland. The latter three were at that stage already recognized as separate Bantu territories.

At the founding of Union in 1910 the British government kept three large Bantu areas—Bechuanaland, Basutoland and Swaziland—with a total area one-third the size of British South Africa, outside the Union, and thus indicated that these areas should be maintained as Bantu areas. After the coming into being of Union, the Union government immedi-

This bridge was buit entirely by the Transkeians to serve their state's ever growing transport requirements.



Interior of a Bantu home at the Daveyton Bantu township on the East Rand.
Medical services for the Bantu in South Africa are free if they make use of the clinics. South Africa's medical services are far in advance of those of other African countries. Ratio of doctors to population is highest on the continent.



ately, by means of legislation, entrenched as such the areas already acknowledged by its predecessor as Bantu areas, by incorporating these in terms of the Natives Land Act of 1913. But the Union government did not leave it at that. A further 7½-million morgen of land were made available for systematic addition to the Bantu areas and of this nearly five million morgen have already been added, not as "re-payment" for white settled land but in pursuance of the desire to see the Bantu homelands become even more viable.

The four areas comprising the present-day Transkei, namely the actual historic Transkei, i.e. Fingo- and Gcaleland; Tembuland, and Pondoland, were as a result of either armed conflict or voluntary agreement, placed under British rule between the years 1877 and 1894. We must, however, make the point very clear that the majority of these areas in the Transkei were placed under British rule not as a result of armed conflict but as a result of mutual agreement. The Bantu tribes under leadership of the Chieftains of that time requested the British government to take their areas under its protection to *preserve their lands for themselves and their descendants.*

As a result these areas were never utilised for any large scale white settlement, but were regarded as entirely Bantu land, which should be protected for the Bantu and preserved for them. When the South African Native Trust was created in 1936 and took over Bantu land in trust, it was clearly stated in this act that the Trust should be administered for the *settlement, maintenance, and material as well as moral welfare of the Bantu of the Union.* We have always realized that we managed this land only as trustees or guardians, but that the land *belongs to the Bantu.* South Africa has a clean record and clear conscience in these matters; we did not misuse our position of trust but over a period of generations we have preserved the Bantu's territory for him and managed it to the best of our ability for his benefit, uplift and progress. Are we now doing wrong by saying "yes" to the Bantu when he says that he has arrived at the stage where he would like to manage this land himself? I am rather of the opinion that if we should refuse, we could then be accused of dishonesty and unlawful appropriation. We want to and will give to the Bantu that which is his and which rightfully belongs to him.

Have I not the right to ask then: Why are we now being accused of "cutting up and dividing" the country? Has our country not already been divided by history? Were these lands not set aside by history? And has it not since been recognized and respected by all responsible people in the country as Bantu Territory?

Self-Government

I now come to the second great principle which has always been generally accepted by our people and its recognized leaders and that is that the Bantu must obtain self-government in his own homelands. No one with any knowledge of history will oppose this thesis. To be sure, development and application of this principle was sporadic and often full of inconsistencies, but the fact remains that everyone shared this view and tried to put it into practice. Let me briefly draw your attention to the following historical developments of the past:

(i) It was for many years the general policy of the early Cape Colony, and the Voortrekkers (pioneers) in Natal, the Free State and the Transvaal to conclude treaties with chiefs.

(ii) The well-known administrative policy of Sir Theophilus Shepstone in Natal from 1846 was chiefly based on the extension and development of the existing tribal system.

(iii) Then there was the well-known system of local government with its local and location councils which was instituted under the Glen Grey Act of 1894 and was gradually extended to the Transkei—eventually to result in the formation of the "United Transkeian Territories General Council" in 1930.

(iv) Since the time of Union a series of Acts have been passed which recognize this principle, of which the Bantu Authorities Act of 1951 is perhaps the most important. It was followed by the Promotion of Bantu Self-Government Act of 1959.

The policy of granting self-government to the Bantu in his homelands in South Africa is nothing new. Indeed it is just as much an accepted part of our traditional Bantu policy as is the reservation of separate homelands for the Bantu.

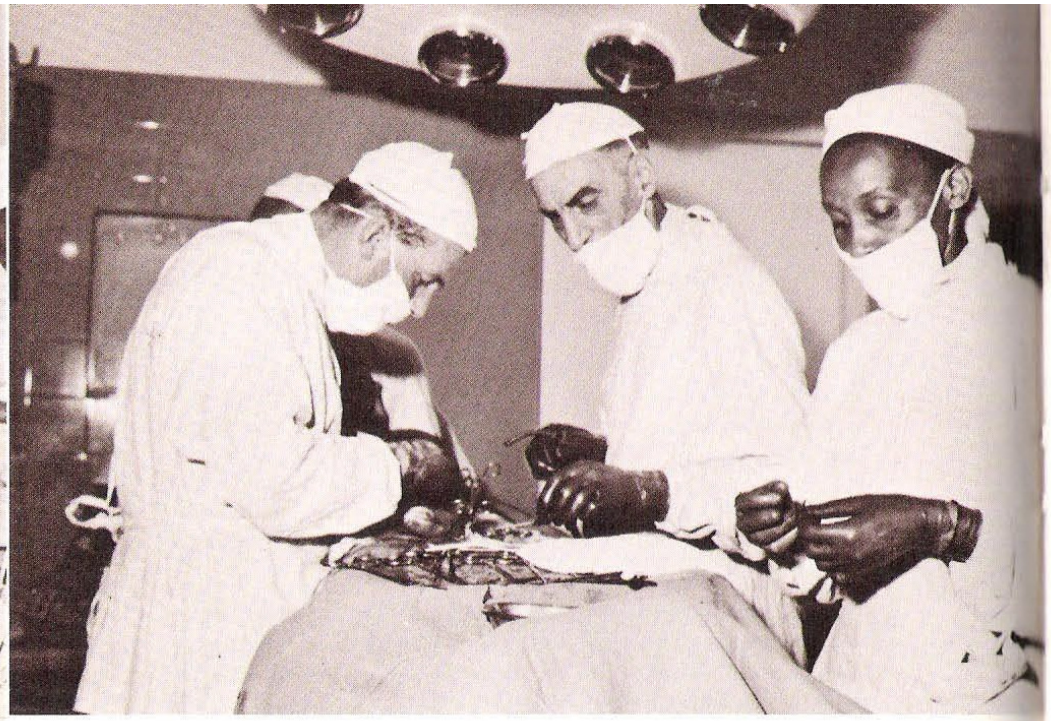
I will go further, however, by drawing attention to the fact that all our recognised leaders since 1910 have pleaded this idea of separate Bantu homelands and self-government for the Bantu in those homelands. In order to illustrate the accordance of views on the matter I need only quote the various Prime Ministers of this country since 1910.

1. During the second reading debate on the Native Trust Bill of 1913, the then Prime Minister, General Louis Botha, made the following significant statement: "The people must be helped in their development and the preservation of their traditions. They have their own traditions as do the whites and we must not try to make whites of them. We must take their position and traditions into account and not mix them together. If the Native is separated he must be given the right to govern himself."

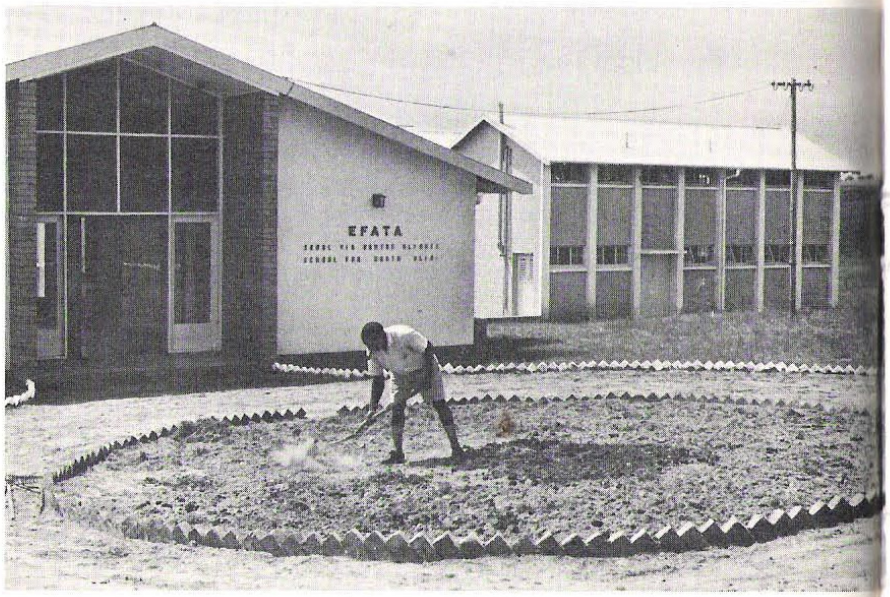
2. General Smuts too, in a speech at the Savoy Hotel in London on 22 May, 1917, expressed the following significant views. "It may be that on those parallel lines we may yet be able to solve a problem which may otherwise be insoluble." And further on: "Thus in South Africa you will have in the long run large areas cultivated by blacks and governed by blacks, where they will look after themselves in all their forms of living and development, while in the rest of the country you will have your white communities, which will govern themselves separately according to accepted European principles."

   I admit that after the Second World War General Smuts also expressed different views on the matter. However, the principle embodied in the quoted extract from his speech ran like a golden thread through his whole life. His last plan before his death was that of granting certain governing powers to a separate Bantu parliament for all the Bantu.

3. In a speech made by General Hertzog on December 3, 1925, in Pretoria he was reported as follows by "Die Burger" of the following day—"The Native should be able to feel at home within the Native areas. He should therefore not be subject to any restrictions other than which is necessary in every approved group of people. It is my intention that in so far as he is able, and in accordance with civilized practices, he should be able to lay down his own rules whereto he must conform in his area . . . *but I do not only wish him to be his own legislator within his own national household; he must also conduct his own administration by means of his own native powers.* There will thus be an opportunity in the native area for native statesmen as well as for native officials."



Medical services in South Africa are superior to those anywhere on the continent. Above: An operation being performed in a Bantu hospital. Below: The Efata school for blind Bantu children near Umtata.



4. In 1948 the policy of the National Party under the leadership of Dr. Malan was published. It stated inter alia: "In their own areas the nonwhite racial groups will receive full opportunities for development in all walks of life. The Native reserves must become the true homeland of the Natives."

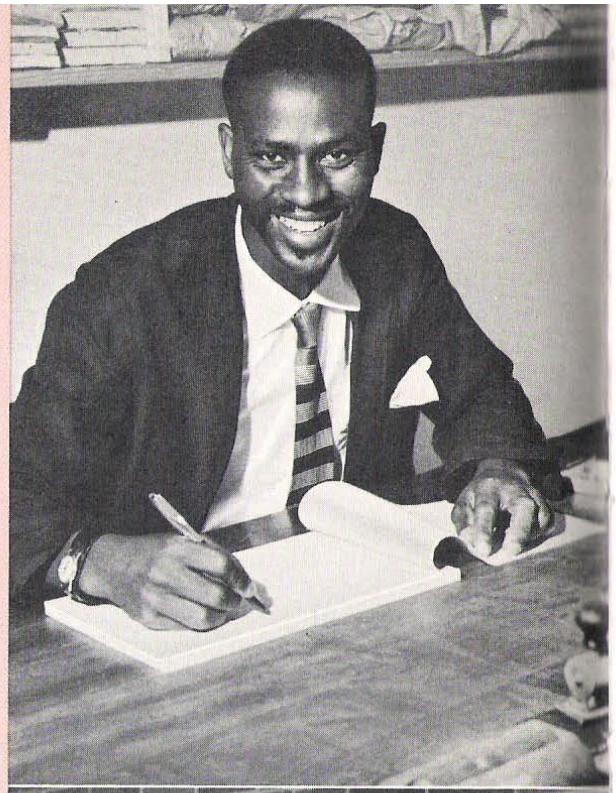
5. On 25 August 1955 Mr. Strijdom addressed the congress of the Natal National Party at Vryheid and expressed his policy as follows—"The purpose of the apartheid policy is that, by separating the races in every field in so far as it is practically possible, one can prevent clashes and friction between whites and nonwhites. At the same time, in fairness to the nonwhites, they must be given the opportunity of developing in their own areas and in accordance with their own nature and abilities under the guardianship of the whites; and, insofar as they develop in accordance with the systems which are best adapted to their nature and traditions, to govern themselves there and serve their community at all the various levels of their national life."

This Bill, to grant self-government to the Bantu of the Transkei, is nothing new. In fact it is founded on two of the most generally acknowledged and accepted cornerstones of our Bantu policy in South Africa: to recognize separate areas for the Bantu and to grant them powers of government there.

Since then, this National Government has conscientiously and systematically carried out this mandate. Since 1948, the new Government continued to implement its policy step by step and a course had been taken which left no illusions with Whites or non-Whites about the Government's policy and objects. *Separate development is a great idea and we have no doubts that to carry it out will require time and all our strength but we were absolutely determined and I think we can justly say today, and friend and foe will admit it, that this Government was not deterred from its course by pressure from within or from without our country. We have continued consistently on our course—the traditional road of our nation.*

Another extremely important point I wish to state emphatically is that the responsible Bantu in South Africa, that is to say, the great mass, are increasingly fixing their hopes on the policy of separate development in spite of all the frightening tales and incitement, because it brings about prosperity and peace for them too, and creates the opportunity for development in all spheres of life, free from unfair common contest.

The policy of separate application development in the Transkei is resulting in the replacement of white officials by Transkeians. A Transkeian postmaster, shortly after the "Africanization" of his post office at Umtata.



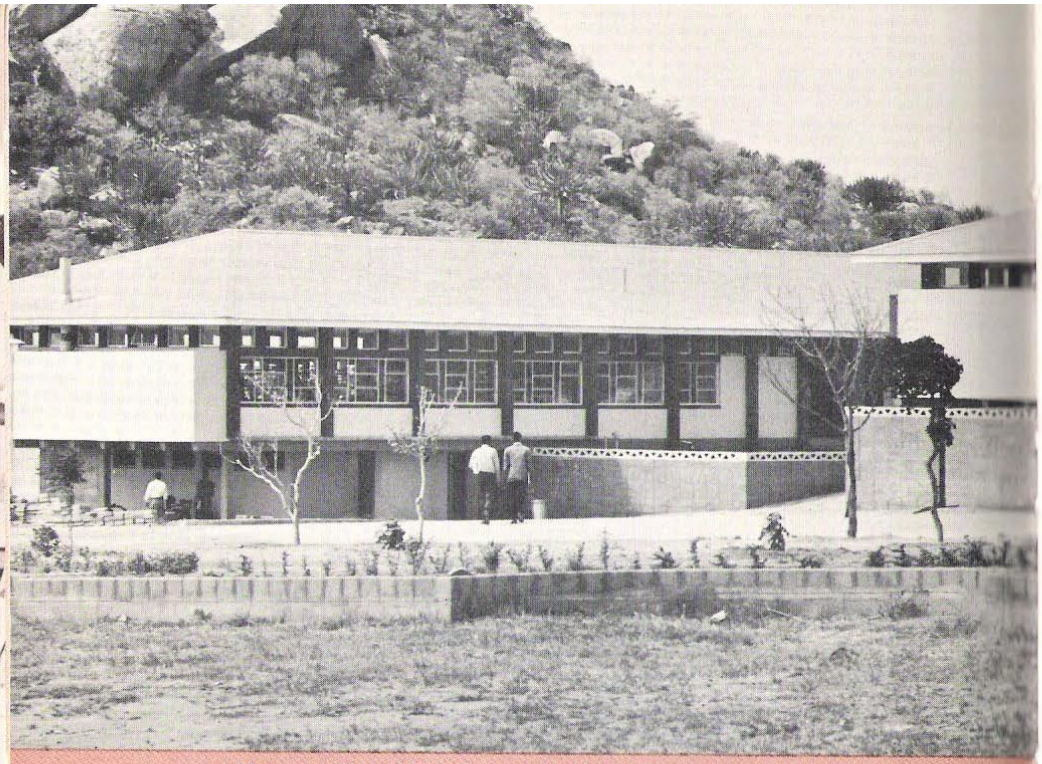
Patients in the Tembuland tuberculosis hospital keeping busy by making curios.

Consultation—Details

In regard to the proposed granting of self-government to the Transkei, the wheel was set in motion by the Bantu of that homeland themselves. They, who of all the Bantu territories, have perhaps had the longest experience of participation in the control of their own affairs, realized the advantages and possibilities which the policy of parallel development holds in store for them too. Therefore, I must also point out another very important aspect of this Bill of which sight should not be lost when this matter is discussed, and that is, that this Bill is pre-eminently the fruit of consultation with the Bantu of the Transkei themselves.

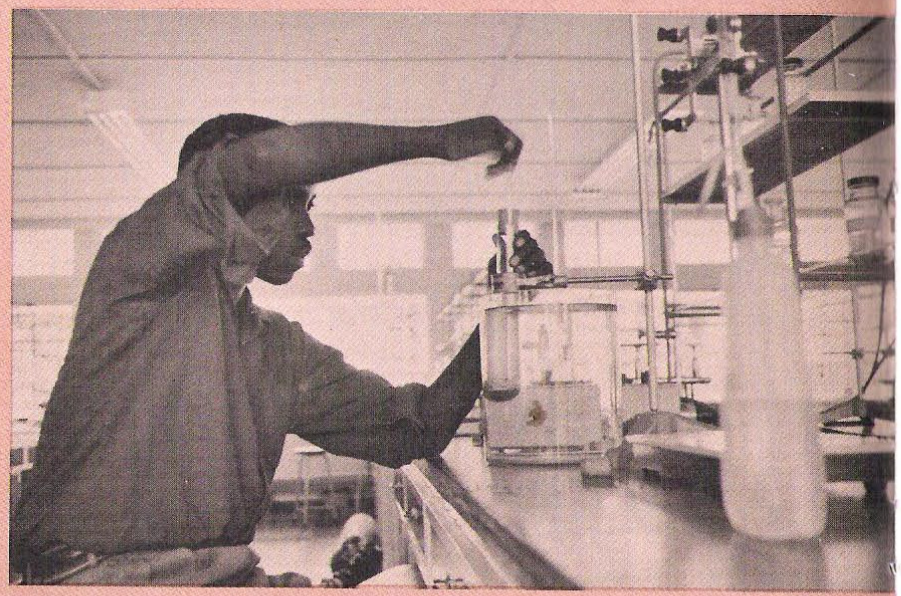
Often in the past—and even today—the Government of the Republic has been accused in certain circles of a lack of "consultation" with the Bantu. We repeatedly rejected this accusation in the past and proved it to be false, and we were always able to show that constant and intimate consultation exists with the Bantu on matters of interest to him and that we even established special machinery for consultation.

However, it may perhaps serve a good purpose when we now say specifically for the consumption of those who always glibly accuse us of a lack of consultation, how this Bill came into being. As is generally known, the Transkeian Territorial Authority during its ordinary session in May, 1961, appointed a recess committee of 27 members, consisting of 14 chiefs and 13 ordinary councillors, to consider the possibilities and implications of self-government for the Transkei. After the committee had been engaged in its task for a number of months, the executive committee of the Territorial Authority met the Prime Minister and myself in Pretoria in December of that year. On that occasion, certain problems were discussed and the Prime Minister stated clearly that the Government was prepared to favorably consider the Territorial Authority's request for self-government, and the assistance of officials was offered if the Committee should find such assistance necessary for the successful execution of its instruction. At the following meeting of the recess committee at Umtata on January 31, a number of officials attended and certain principles regarding self-government were formulated. Afterwards a preliminary report was compiled and this report and its implications were again discussed with the Prime Minister and myself at Pretoria on March 19. Thereafter, the recess committee met at Umtata on March 30, 1962, and its report was completed. Thereupon, some sixty representatives of the Transkeian Bantu in the big urban centres were invited to Umtata during April, 1962, to discuss the recommendations of the committee, and to obtain their



Above: Hill behind Science building contains collection of Northern Transvaal flora for study, at Turfloop University.

Below: The Bantu are producing scientists to aid in the development of their nations.



views on the matter. The report was distributed in the Transkei itself and discussed with the local inhabitants. At the end of April, the report was discussed by the full Territorial Authority and virtually unanimously accepted. The Territorial Authority requested the Government to draft a Bill for the provision of self-government in the Transkei based on the recommendations contained in the report and to the extent to which the report was acceptable to the Government. This was done and as you know this Bill was taken back to the Transkei and from December 11 it was discussed in detail at a special session of the Territorial Authority.

If ever there was a matter of interest for the Bantu in this country in regard to which they co-operated more actively and were consulted and recognized to a greater extent, even on the highest level of government, then I should like to hear about it. I want to go further and say that I doubt whether the political development in any other emancipated state in Africa has taken place with such a degree of open-hearted consultation, with such a measure of mutual trust and such a measure of unanimity as in this instance.

Bantu's Own Creation

Now I wish to emphasise another important fact—that this Bill was the creation of the Bantu in the Transkei. We assisted them where necessary. However, it was they who put it into shape. It will rebound to their credit, because throughout they showed a spirit of earnestness, responsibility and dignity. How different this was compared with constitution making in other parts of Africa. Here the matter was dealt with in a spirit of cordiality and cooperation in a minimum of time to the great satisfaction of the Transkeian people, while elsewhere it took months of strife and bitterness which only resulted in the creation of new problems, while most of the countries concerned are steering towards a dictatorship.

This Bill is not a slavish copy of constitutions of Western democracy, but it bears its own Bantu stamp—a Bantu stamp that in no way derogates from the best principles of democracy, but which rather makes an active contribution to making democratic government strike firm roots.

The Constitution

A unicameral system is recommended for the Transkei. Various alternatives were considered in this connection among which the proposal that there should be two houses, viz. a legislative assembly (congress) and an upper house (senate) and that the chiefs should take their seats in the

upper house. However, it was unanimously decided against these proposals and among the most important reasons mentioned were the following:

(a) According to Bantu tradition it is correct that the chief and his subjects should gather to decide on the affairs of the nation;

(b) In Bantu Law the chief-in-council is the legislator of his people and he should, therefore, have a share in the legislative assembly itself;

(c) The chiefs are the traditional governors of the people. Among the Bantu they definitely have the most experience in managerial matters and the exercising of power. As in the past, it is imperative that they should actively participate in administrative matters.

(d) Experience elsewhere has taught that where the Chiefs are pushed aside it leads to the downfall and elimination of the traditional authority; but instead of this resulting in the creation of a Western democratic system, as intended, a Western mantle is hung about a system which, in reality, is superseded by autocratic dictatorship.

Composition of Legislative Assembly

There were a great variety of proposals in regard to this matter, and many different formulas were actually considered. It has already been stressed there were no objections against members of the legislative assembly being elected by the Bantu, and when initially a large proportion of traditional members—as against elected members—was in fact proposed, the Prime Minister himself indicated that in his opinion *the ratio was too much in favor of the traditional members*. The matter was then reconsidered by the recess committee and the present formula was decided on which works out at more or less 60 per cent traditional members as against 40 per cent elected members. The fact that there will now be elected members in the legislative assembly is also no deviation from the policy of developing the traditional administrative system, because the Bantu's development should be organic and not artificial.

As far as the ratio and the composition of the legislative assembly itself is concerned, the following considerations were taken into account:

(a) For the reason already mentioned it was decided that chiefs and elected members should assemble in one house.

(b) Because of the fact that the chiefs are the traditional legislators and rulers of the Bantu and have had the most experience in managerial affairs and the maintenance of authority, they should have a majority in the house, otherwise things might lead to a total degeneration of the traditional system known to the Bantu—instead of an advancement.

(c) Taking these facts into account it was decided that a ratio of 60 against 40 at this stage gives sufficient protection to the traditional system and still offers sufficient opportunity for the participation in and advancement of the managerial body by elected members. This was done after the Prime Minister had suggested that there should be a greater percentage of elected representatives.

(d) Since all the existing chiefs represent separate tribal units or ethnic groups, it was decided not to interfere with the traditional right of these groups to be represented in the legislative assembly by their traditional tribal chiefs. Therefore, it was decided that all the 64 existing chiefs must be members of the legislative assembly and the remaining 45 members should be elected.

(e) These elected members will be elected by the Transkeian citizens in the Transkei, as well as those diaspora in the rest of the Republic, and arrangements will be made which will offer full opportunities to register and to vote to all Transkeian citizens through the Republic.

The Transkei Cabinet, from left to right, back row: Messrs. M. S. Mvusi, G. M. M. Matanzima and B. B. Mdledle. Front row: C. Madikizela. Senior Chief Kaizer Matanzima, the Chief Minister, and Chief J. Moshesh.

The Position of the Chief

The Bill contains various stipulations concerning chieftainship. These are patterned on the tribal system. *For example, chiefs and all tribal authorities will retain their existing duties, powers and functions until such time as their own legislative assembly brings about changes therein—everything, of course, is designed to break as little as possible with the past and what is known to the Bantu.* Paramount chiefs' personal status in their own areas will be protected whilst the existing ethnical classification in nine main groups will be maintained—even during the election of members—and each tribal region will form a separate constituency.

The indication throughout is that we and the Bantu are building here on the good of the past and that Bantu tradition is being taken into account and protected all the way through.

Election of Ministers

Provision is made for the election of the Chief Minister (Prime Minister) as well as the Ministers *by the Legislative Assembly*. This is a new concept in formation of the executive branch of a government but was done at the request of the recess committee. The most important considerations for this step were:

(a) The fact that it is in accordance with the Bantu managerial system;

(b) because it will ensure a greater general trust in the Chief Minister.

Every nation gives form and shape to its own political and philosophical ideas of state. I have no doubt that this system is a valuable contribution to the development of politics in Africa and the world. Let us remember that no form of Government prefabricated and *forced upon a nation from outside has any hope of succeeding.*

Separate Citizenship

A further outstanding feature of this Bill is to create a distinctive citizenship for the Transkei. Coupled with this the whites cannot be citizens of the Transkei, their aspirations must be realised in their part of South Africa. This is the logical and consistent result of our policy of separate development. Constitutionally, according to this concept, every Bantu's citizenship will in the first place be established in his own homeland and every white's in white South Africa. The Republic of South Africa, of which the Transkei and the other Bantu homelands temporarily remain integral parts, is, according to international law, a sovereign state unit. A

citizen of the Transkei and later also of the other self-governing Bantu states which will arise in South Africa, will still, until his state is *fully* independent for external purposes and according to international law, remain a citizen of South Africa, and as such enjoy protection.

The Territory

Clause one of the Bill makes it clear that the Transkei will be a self-managing territory within the Republic of South Africa.

In clause two the territory which makes up the Transkei is defined. It is stated clearly that the Transkei will consist of the Bantu territories of the 26 Transkeian districts which are mentioned in this clause. (See map, page 96)

Clause three provides that Bantu territories can be added to the Transkei, but only with the approval of the Transkeian Legislative Assembly. This clause thus gives a clear guarantee to the whites outside the Transkei as well as to the Bantu of the Transkei that no borders can be changed arbitrarily or in a one-sided manner or without the approval of chosen representatives of the people.

Flag, Anthem and Official Language

In clauses four to six provision is made for a separate flag and anthem for the Transkei, and it also determines that Xhosa will be the official language of the territory while provision is also made for the official languages of the Republic and also for Sotho to be used in official matters.

Citizenship

Clauses seven and eight of the Bill deal with citizenship.

1. In the first place a distinct citizenship for the Transkei is created.
2. All Xhosa-speaking Bantu in the Republic, and those in the Transkei, as well as those outside and also the Sotho-speaking Bantu of the Transkei and Bantu which are related to them, as well as other Bantu who were born in the Transkei or who for more than five years have legally been domiciled there, become citizens of the Transkei.
3. Transkeian citizens will enjoy and exercise all the citizenship rights and privileges which this Bill grants them such as, amongst others, the vote in the Transkei, and will also be subject to the citizenship duties and responsibilities in the Transkei which this law places upon them.
4. Because they are actually citizens of a self-governing territory which is presently still for international purposes (but temporarily) part of the Republic of South Africa, they will not be regarded or treated as foreigners in the Republic. They are thus placed on a different footing to the Bantu from outside the Republic.

The Cabinet

In clauses nine to twenty two provision is made for the executive branch of the Transkei to consist of a cabinet which will initially comprise a Chief Minister and five other Ministers.

1. The cabinet will be endowed with executive powers in all matters referred to it and the Legislative assembly will be legally empowered in these matters;
2. The Chief Minister as well as the other Ministers are chosen by the Legislative Assembly (in secret ballot);
3. The period of office of the cabinet is the same as that of the Legislative Assembly—normally five years—but the cabinet or a member of the cabinet may be removed at the request of the Legislative Assembly.

The Legislative Assembly

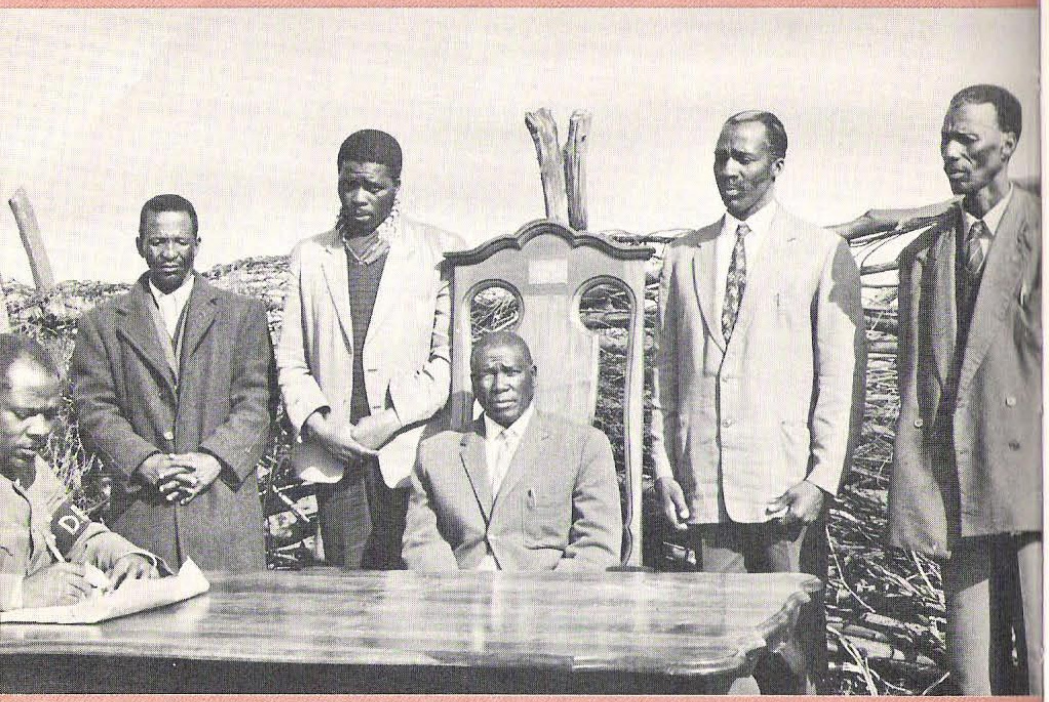
Clauses twenty three to forty two include the regulations in connection with the Legislative Assembly.

Clause twenty three rules that the Legislative Assembly will consist of—

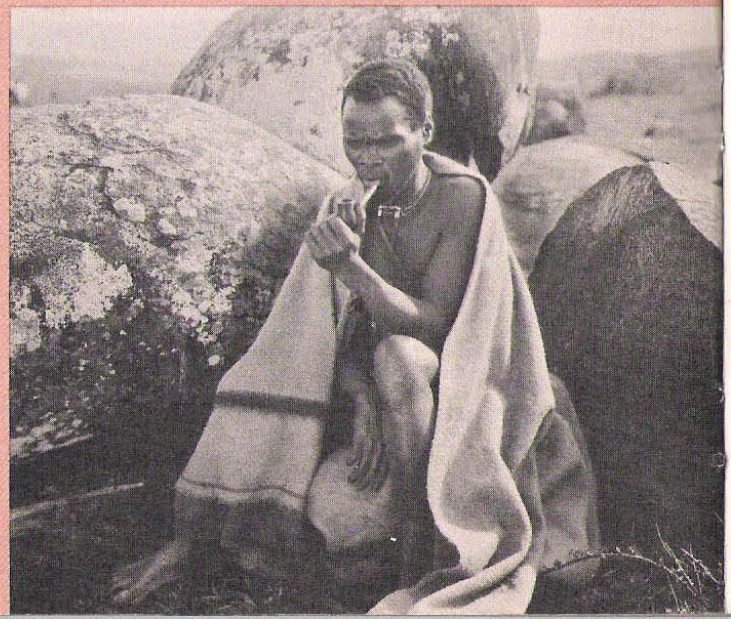
> the Paramount Chiefs of the Transkei (there are 4); the 60 existing Chiefs, and 45 elected members.

It is clear that we are providing for a joint government by the traditional Bantu management authority and elected members who will be elected by the enfranchised citizens of the Transkei—the citizens in the Transkei and those outside.

Clause twenty six rules that regional authority areas will be the constituencies for the election of the 45 members and each constituency will be able to elect a number of members in proportion to its registered voters. Also clauses twenty seven, twenty eight and twenty nine include the qualification requirements for voters and members. Clause thirty rules that the period of office of the Legislative Assembly will be five years, unless the State President dissolves it earlier on the recommendation of the cabinet. Clauses thirty seven,



The old and new. A Transkeian contemplates the rolling veld. A Polling officer registers a chief for the first general election in the new state of the Transkei.



thirty eight and thirty nine deal with mechanics of legislation and additional powers.

Chieftainship and Lower Control Bodies

Clauses forty three to forty seven rule:

1. That the duties, powers and functions of chiefs as well as Bantu authorities (excluding the Territorial Authority) at present employed in the Transkei, will remain valid until such time as the empowered authority changes it;
2. The personal status of paramount chiefs be safeguarded;
3. Provision be made for the dissolving of the Transkeian Territorial Authority and the transfer of all the powers of this body and its possessions to the Transkeian Government.

Justice

In clauses forty eight to fifty the following provisions are made with regard to courts in the Transkei:

(a) Existing lower courts, that is magisterial and Bantu Affairs Commissioners' Courts can be transferred to the Transkeian Government and this Government will, where necessary, establish courts in accordance with the Magistrates' Court Act and the Bantu Administration Act, or, if it is so desired, accept legislation to establish its own courts.

(b) Provision is made in clause fifty for the establishment of a High Court for the Transkei. Sub-clause (3) stipulates that there is a right of appeal from this High Court to the Appeal Court.

Finance

Clause fifty one of the Bill provides for the establishment of an autonomous Revenue Account for the Transkei into which all revenue must be paid and clause fifty two defines the revenue that will accrue to the Transkei. In short this amounts to the Transkei receiving:

(i) All the personal taxes paid by Transkeian citizens; both within and outside the Transkei as well as such other taxes as may be imposed by the Transkeian Government itself;

(ii) All income taxes payable by Transkeian citizens and private Bantu companies within the Transkei as well as estate duties payable in respect of the estates of Transkeian citizens who at the time of their decease had normally resided in the Transkei;

(iii) All administrative revenues, fines and funds arising from matters being administered by the Transkeian Government;

(iv) An annual amount payable from Consolidated Revenue Funds and based on the present expenditures of the Republican Government in the Transkei and

(v) Such an additional amount of money as may be voted annually by Parliament.

Further, this portion of the Bill provides inter alia for—

(i) Parliamentary control over all expenditures, i.e. control by the Transkeian Legislative Assembly over all expenditures.

(ii) Compiling budgets and budgetary legislation;

(iii) The manner in which monies may be withdrawn—also by means of special warrants and

(iv) For the auditing of the Transkeian Revenue Account by the Controller and Auditor-General and for the application of our Treasury and Audit Act of 1956 until such time as the Transkei has made its own arrangements in this regard.

It is also important in regard to financial matters that we observe in general the principle that tax liability be linked with citizenship i.e. a citizen should pay taxes for his own homelands and where he enjoys the franchise. Personal taxes of Xhosa citizens therefore accrue to the Transkei even when they live outside the Territory, and the taxes of whites in the Transkei accrue to us.

Lands

Clause fifty nine of the Bill provides for the transfer to the Transkeian Government by proclamation of land and other public properties relating to matters over which the Transkeian Legislative Assembly exercises control, subject to such conditions as may be imposed.

Clause sixty chiefly relates to "white spot" villages in the Transkei and provides for their gradual taking over by the Bantu.

Administration

As far as the transfer of administration and personnel affairs are concerned, provision is made in broad outline in clauses 61 to 64 for the following, namely:

(i) Bantu officials at present working in the Transkei in departments or in connection with matters to be entrusted to the Transkei, will become officials of the Transkeian government as from the establishment of that government.

(ii) Such officials will, however, retain the pension benefits which they at present enjoy in our Public Service.

(iii) Since the Transkei at present does not have enough trained Bantu to fill all the posts in those departments which are to be transferred to its care, white officials will be put at the disposal of the Transkei to cope with these services.

(iv) These white officials will, however, remain in the service of the Government of the Republic and will also be paid by the Republic.

(v) These white officials will gradually be replaced by Bantu, but always from the lowest ranks upwards.

The First Schedule

The last and most important section of the Bill is the First Schedule wherein all the matters are incorporated over which the Transkei will obtain legal as well as administrative powers in terms of the provisions of the Bill.

So, for example, amongst others, the Transkei will control:

(i) Education in its entirety.

(ii) Agriculture, forestry and veterinary services.

(iii) Roads and works, except the interstate highways.

(iv) Labor and social services.

(v) Justice: courts and police services.

(vi) Lands, land control, deeds and survey services.

(vii) Estates, successions, births, deaths and marriages.

Mr. K. Matanzima and the late Mr. Dag Hamarskjöld a few weeks before Mr. Hamarskjöld's death on African soil in an air crash. The former Secretary General of the U.N. paid a visit to South Africa in 1961. Mr. Hammarskjöld made an extensive tour through the Transkei and had the opportunity to consult with South Africans of all shades and opinion.

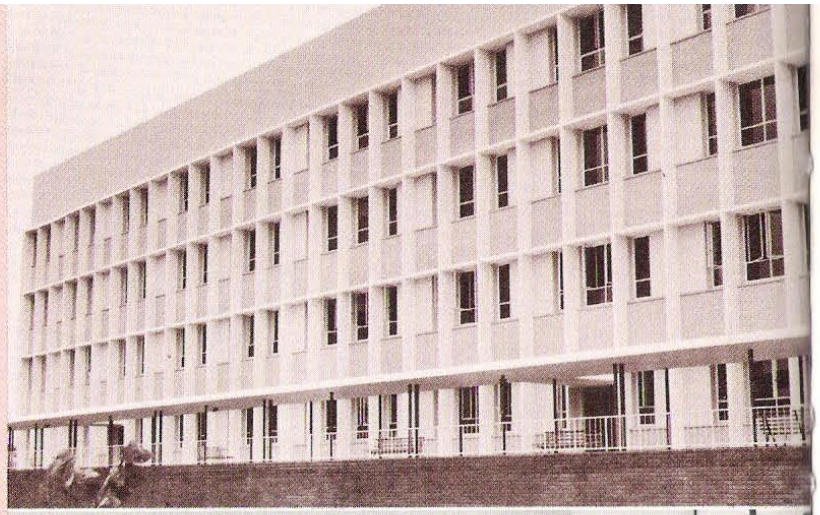
Chapter V

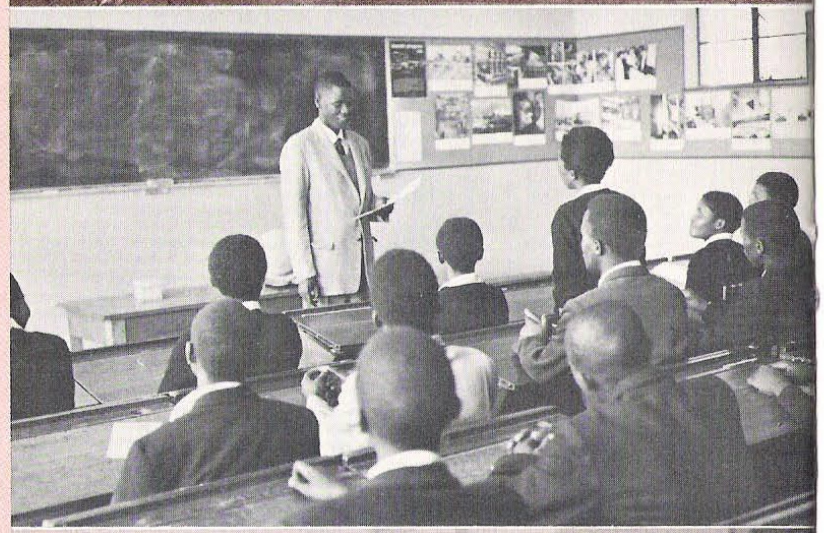
The Meaning of Self-respect

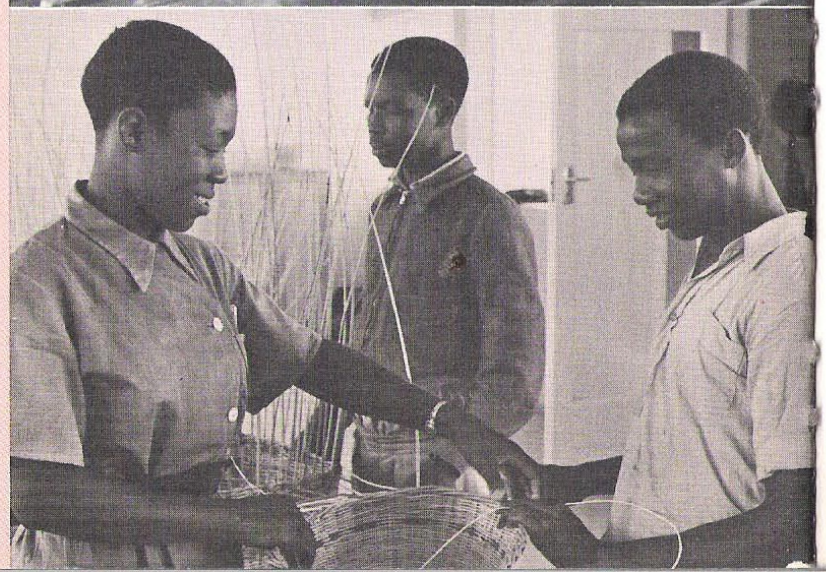
> *"We believe that the development to full nationhood of black men should start at the beginning and proceed systematically in pace with his capabilities. Unlike other authorities in Africa we do not propose to start at the top. Instead we are carefully preparing our black masses for an ever-growing share of responsibility. When the time comes for their independence, they will have become a democratically organized and democratically experienced nation, therefore their independence will not flounder upon the whim and fancy of a few power-hungry-elite among them."* Dr. H. F. Verwoerd, March, 1960.

NO state can function without the development of its human material as well as its natural resources. In the Transkei the policy has always been to help the underdeveloped Transkeians to help themselves with the knowledge that the white man must eventually withdraw from that area. But in South Africa, where the whims of colonialism affected both the rooted white nation and the Bantu, withdrawal has to be systematic if it is not going to degenerate into chaos. White South Africa has thus followed a policy of "internal decolonization" with respect to the Transkei. Only in this way, in this unique multi-national country, can viable nation states be born out of the scrambled colonial omelette tossed down the corridors of history. That this approach of "live and let live" is working, is borne out by achievements that speak more forcibly than the words of those who wish to sow confusion and dissent.

The Government plans to devote about $162-million to the physical development of the Bantu homelands during the five-year period 1961-1962 to 1965-66. This includes $26-million for the development of the Transkei. The estimated total amount for the Xhosa-speaking homelands is $47-million.







EDUCATION

The Transkei has made more progress in the educational field than any other Bantu territory in the Republic and is more advanced than most independent African states. As regards primary education there are schooling facilities for 85 per cent of all children in the school-going age group of seven to fourteen years.

The first school was opened as far back as 1800. Missionaries belonging to the various churches and mission societies were responsible for the first formal education of the Bantu.

The Wesleyan (Methodist) Church established a large number of mission stations which also provided educational facilities and it was in this manner that the following educational institutions came into being: Lamplough (Butterworth); Clarkebury (1830), Buntingville (1830), Shawbury, Palmerton, Emfundisweni (1865), Tsomo and Osborn (1850).

St. John's College, Umtata (Anglican Mission Society); Blythswood (Scottish Mission Society); Mvenyane, Cedarville (Moravian Mission Society) and Mariazell Institution (Roman Catholic Mission Society), had similar origins.

At a later stage the "Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk" (one of the "Dutch Reformed" churches) built schools in the Transkei, such as the Circira Teachers' Training School, Umtata, and the Arthur Tsengiwe Teachers' Training and Secondary School, Cala.

The missionaries were also the first persons to evolve a written script for the Bantu languages, and the Rev. J. W. Appleyard translated the Bible into Xhosa in 1859.

Government Interest

The Government first entered the field of Bantu education in 1854 when Sir George Grey, Governor of the Cape Colony, decided to subsidise missions schools for the vocational training of Bantu children, and for their training as interpreters, evangelists and teachers in the service of their own people.

In 1865 schools and institutions for Bantu were placed under the control of the Department of Education of the Cape Colony.

With the establishment of Union in 1910, primary and secondary education were entrusted to the various provincial authorities, and education in the Transkei thus became the

Top: The left wing of the vast Tembuland hospital in the Transkei. Centre: Transkeian teacher at his class. The Transkeians are the most literate nation in all of black Africa. Bottom—Bantu blind being taught basket weaving at the Efata school.

responsibility of the Cape Provincial Administration. The mission societies continued, however, to be responsible for the instruction of Bantu children. The Government was responsible mainly for the financing of education.

In 1953 the Bantu Education Act (No. 47 of 1953) transferred the control of Bantu education from the Provincial Administration to the then Native Affairs Department of the Central Government and in 1958 an independent Department of Bantu Education came into being.

Bantu Interest

One of the most important objects of the Bantu Education Act was to encourage the Bantu to play an active part in the management of their own schools. This made it necessary to alter the policy of supporting mission schools as well as the status of mission superintendents.

In 1954 the church bodies were given the option of either retaining control of their schools without any financial assistance or having the subsidy in respect of teachers' salaries, cost-of-living allowances and other allowances reduced to 75 per cent or transferring the control of their schools to the Department.

Various types of schools were established:

(a) Government Bantu schools, which include all schools for the children of State employees and are erected on State-owned land, and teachers' training schools.

(b) Bantu community schools.

(c) Aided farm, mine or factory schools which are erected on farm, factory or mine property for the children of employees.

(d) Non-aided (private) schools.

The control of Bantu community schools was transferred to the Bantu school boards and committees established in terms of the Act. This system gave the Bantu parent a direct voice in the education of his child.

The total number of 252,784 school-going children represents approximately 70 per cent of all children of school-going age, higher than in most African states.

Children in the Lower Primary Schools receive instruction in Xhosa (the mother tongue), Afrikaans, English, Arithmetic, Social Studies, Hygiene, Religious Instruction, Nature Study, Music and practical subjects such as Tree Planting and Soil Conservation, Needlework, Handicrafts, Housecraft and Gardening.

The teaching profession is a career in which a large number of Bantu serve their own people: thus 4,358 Bantu are

teaching at subsidised schools in the Transkei as against 235 teachers at private schools. Moreover, 54 white teachers are entrusted with the instruction of Bantu children in that area.

There are at present eight white inspectors, eight Bantu sub-inspectors and 29 Bantu supervisors in the Transkei.

Jongilizwe College

Since 1959 provision has been made for the training of sons of chiefs and headmen. This training is designed to equip the youths for their future calling and special attention is devoted to developing qualities of leadership, a sense of responsibility and administrative ability.

Vocational Training

There are at present five institutions providing vocational training for the Transkeians. Courses are offered in such subjects as masonry, carpentry, tailoring, etc.

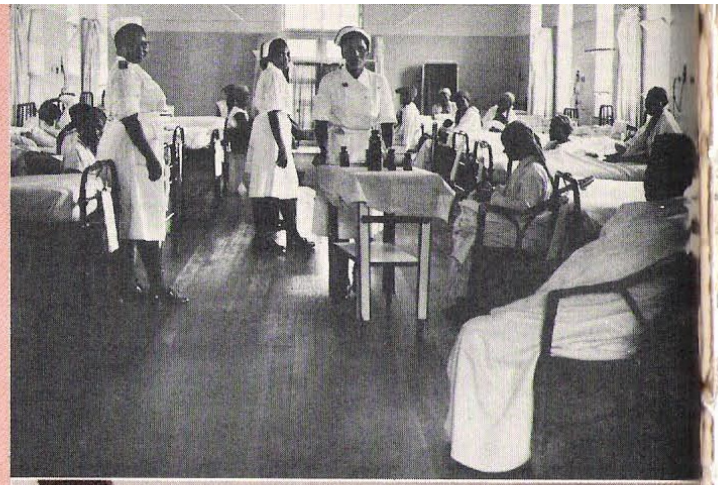
Near Alice in the Ciskei is the University College of Fort Hare. Xhosa-speaking students continue their studies here and qualify in arts, science or commerce.

Special Instruction

The Efata school for blind and deaf Bantu children near Umtata helps to provide for the educational needs of such handicapped children. This school was established by the "Nederduits Gereformeerde" Bantu church of South Africa and subsidised by the Department of Bantu Education.

The school's division for the blind was opened in 1958. The children are taught braille and as far as practicable, follow the normal school syllabus. They also receive tuition in handicrafts so as to assist them to earn their own living in later life.

The division for deaf children was opened in 1960. These children are taught to talk and to fend for themselves with a view to becoming socially effective individuals.



Nurses and patients in a Transkei hospital. Centre: Transkeian nurses attend an anatomy lecture at the Sir Herbert Elliott hospital in Umtata. Bottom: Ouch! A young Transkeian winces as he is inoculated against polio during the recent nationwide drive. In many instances inoculation was not easy as the conservative nature of the people in the outlying districts had been influenced by witch doctors. In the end however the Transkeian doctors and nurses administering the vaccine prevailed over superstitious beliefs.

Health Services

As is the case in the rest of the Republic of South Africa, health services in the Transkei are decentralised. They are administered by the Department of Health, the Cape Provincial Administration, mission hospitals and clinics under the supervision of local authorities, and Bantu authorities.

Three hospitals cater for infectious diseases, namely the Tembuland Tuberculosis Hospital near Umtata; Mkambati (Lusikisiki) and Mjanyana (Engcobo).

The Tembuland Hospital is the center for the fight against tuberculosis in the Transkei. It is from here that four mobile X-ray units visit the various districts to make regular inspections of tuberculotics and their contacts. The whole of the X-ray division is managed by locally trained Transkeians.

Mission hospitals play an important role in the Transkei and receive a subsidy from the Department in respect of infectious diseases. Tuberculotic patients are catered for by two S.A.N.T.A. (South African National Tuberculosis Association) settlements, one at Umtata and the other at Matatiele. The Transkei now has 15 hospitals containing 1,235 beds for persons suffering from infectious diseases. Approval has been obtained for the construction of a further seven mission hospitals for tuberculotics, and three of these are already being built.

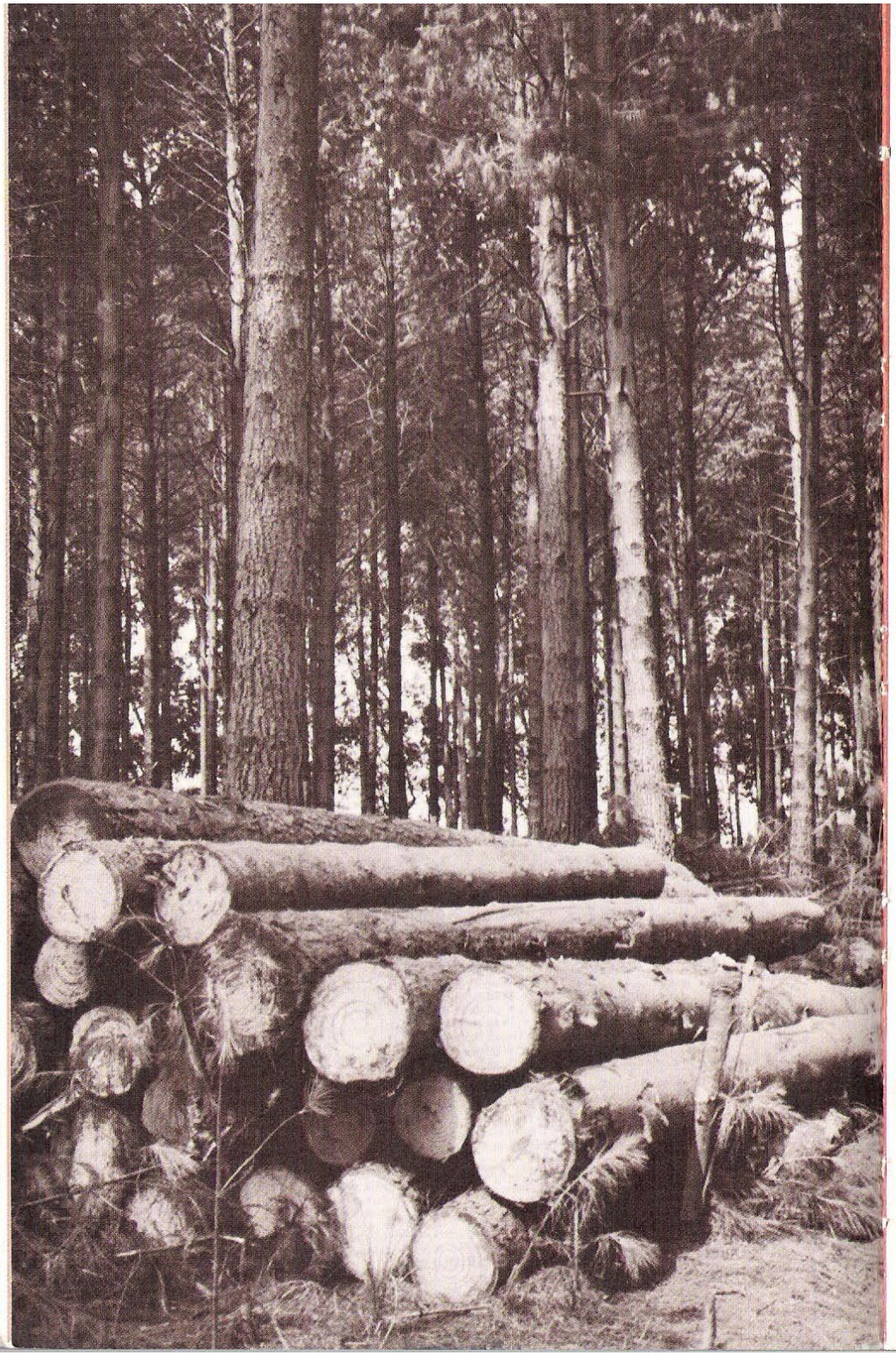
There are 294 clinics in the Transkei of which 30 have been established and are being maintained by Bantu committees.

District surgeons are performing medical services for the Department on a part-time basis such as routine or mass inoculations against enteric fever, diphtheria and whooping cough, all of which are provided free of charge to the Bantu. These campaigns have achieved a great deal of success over the past few years thanks to a tactful approach and the willing co-operation of chiefs and headmen. A mass immunisation campaign against poliomyelitis was embarked upon during the winter months of 1961.

Provincial hospitals are found in the following Transkeian districts: Butterworth, Matatiele, Mount Fletcher and Umtata. Provincial and mission hospitals together contain a total of 2,980 general and 170 confinement beds for Transkeians.

AGRICULTURE

Climatically speaking, the Transkei is in a very favorable position and has a relatively high agricultural potential. In spite of this favorable climate the level of production is relatively low as the unscientific farming methods traditionally



employed by the Bantu have greatly contributed to the deterioration of the soil.

The Bantu regard cattle as wealth and more often than not ignore quality in favor of quantity. They have tended to overstock and overgraze their land which has contributed to its destruction and erosion. Lack of judicious farming systems has also led to the impoverishment of the soil.

Although planning has been undertaken in the Transkei for many years it is only since 1954 that positive steps have been taken to develop this region on a more scientific basis.

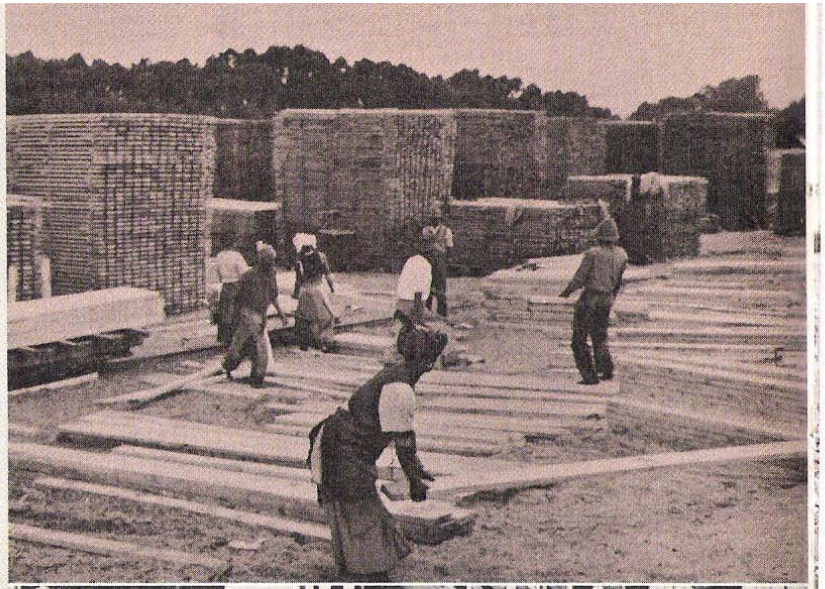
Any developmental program that differs materially from the traditional system to which the Bantu are accustomed, has little chance of succeeding without the cooperation of the Bantu themselves. If it is accepted that Bantu farming methods must conform to sound principles and that land must be allocated to Bantu farmers in such a manner that they can become economically independent, it follows that many families will have to forfeit their land rights and settle in towns to find other means of livelihood. Attention is also being given to the establishment of industries inside and on the borders of the Bantu homelands which will create further employment for the non-farming Bantu population of the future.

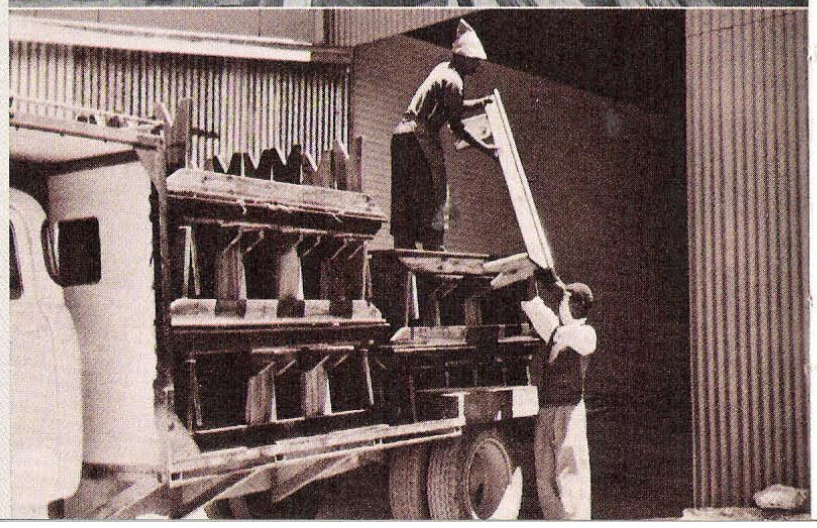
Soil Conservation

Soil conservation works involve the application of all measures calculated to prevent the impoverishment of the soil and the reduction of its productivity. They include the making of training banks, the construction of contour banks, grass-stripping, the establishment of watering-places for stock in all grazing camps so as to prevent the formation of paths to distant watering-points and the proper fencing off of pastures so as to make the best use of the veld without harming it in any way.

Bantu traditions in regard to utilisation of land for agricultural purposes are so completely at variance with the practices on which scientific agriculture is based, that the possibility of building up an independent and effective Bantu farming community in the Transkei will depend on the extent to which the Bantu can be prevailed upon to accept scientific field husbandry practices. They have still to be convinced of the desirability of using good quality seed of the most suitable varieties and will have to pay more attention to the preparation and cultivation of the soil, the eradication of

Pine trees being stacked before transport to the timber factory at Vulindlela.





Three views of the Vulindlela timber factory.

noxious weeds, fertilisation, etc., in order to obtain a higher level of productivity.

The failure of the Bantu to employ sound agronomic practices is reflected in the fact that the average yield of both corn and sorghum, the two most important staple food crops, is seldom more than per acre. Demonstration plots have proved that, with good agricultural practices and methods of cultivation, the yield can easily be increased to seven or ten bags per morgen.

In all planning projects it is always endeavored to place as much land as possible under irrigation in order to ensure larger and more regular yields.

Fiber Cultivation

During the last few years a new project, namely the cultivation of fiber, was embarked upon in the Bantu areas as there is a great demand in the Republic of South Africa for its production. The climate and soil of certain parts of the Bantu areas are suitable for the cultivation of fiber crops, which can be used in the place of jute for the manufacture of bags. (Jute is still imported.)

The Transkei, particularly those regions which lie between Lusikisiki and the coast, is one of the most promising parts of the country for the cultivation of *Phormium tenax* and that is why its cultivation is receiving special attention in these regions.

Fiber planting has been undertaken in the districts of Lusikisiki, Ngqeleni, Kentani and Butterworth.

Many Transkeians have already been employed to assist in the planting, cultivation and proper maintenance of the fiber plants as well as in cutting, decortication and pre-treatment for marketing purposes or for sale to factories manufacturing bags and other jute articles.

This new undertaking, is creating new and increased interest in the future economic expansion of the Bantu homelands since it provides employment for the family as a whole. Moreover, it is helping to make the whole Republic of South Africa more self-sufficient in regard to the production of fibers.

Animal Husbandry

Overgrazing is one of the main causes of soil erosion and the general decline of the Bantu areas. Other important factors in this deterioration are the uneven distribution of livestock in the grazing areas and the difficulty of convincing the Bantu that the quality of their stock is more important than the quantity.

Bantu are encouraged to take part in cooperative dairy projects, 33 of which have already been established.

The agricultural section also organises agricultural shows in co-operation with the Bantu authorities. These shows are of great value and serve to acquaint the Bantu with the advantages of better farming methods.

Information

Although all these methods are employed to a greater or a lesser extent, experience has shown that personal contact is the most successful of all, particularly when it is through the medium of Bantu extension officers who enjoy the confidence of the farmers.

Hitherto this type of medium has not been fully exploited as most of the available manpower has been used for planning.

Further information is disseminated by means of radio talks on agricultural matters and the regular publication of such articles in the Transkeian Government's agricultural magazine, "Umcebisi Womlini Numfuyi."

Schools are emphasising the vital importance of soil conservation and scientific agricultural methods, helping to create an awareness of the need for better farming methods amongst the youth of the Transkei.

The Tsolo Agricultural School

The Tsolo Agricultural School was established in 1913 and now falls under the control of the Transkeian Authority. The school farm is also situated near Tsolo and covers an area of 3,000 acres.

There are facilities for the training of 80 students every year. In addition to their theoretical training the students receive practical training in animal husbandry, agriculture, fish breeding and all matters pertaining to farming in the Transkei. They are also taught the basic requirements for the maintenance of farming machinery and implements.

After completion of the initial 18 months' course, students may enroll for a further course designed to qualify them as assistant stock inspectors as well as for a diploma course.

This school may rightly be regarded as a powerhouse, from which the Xhosa youth and farming population can derive their agricultural knowledge and guidance.

Fisheries

The fishing industry is still in its infancy and has not developed much beyond the experimental stage.

Recognising the importance of fish in the daily diet of the Bantu, the Transkeian Government has established an experimental fishery station at the Tsolo Agricultural School. It is the ultimate aim to stock all dams built near new towns.

Forestry

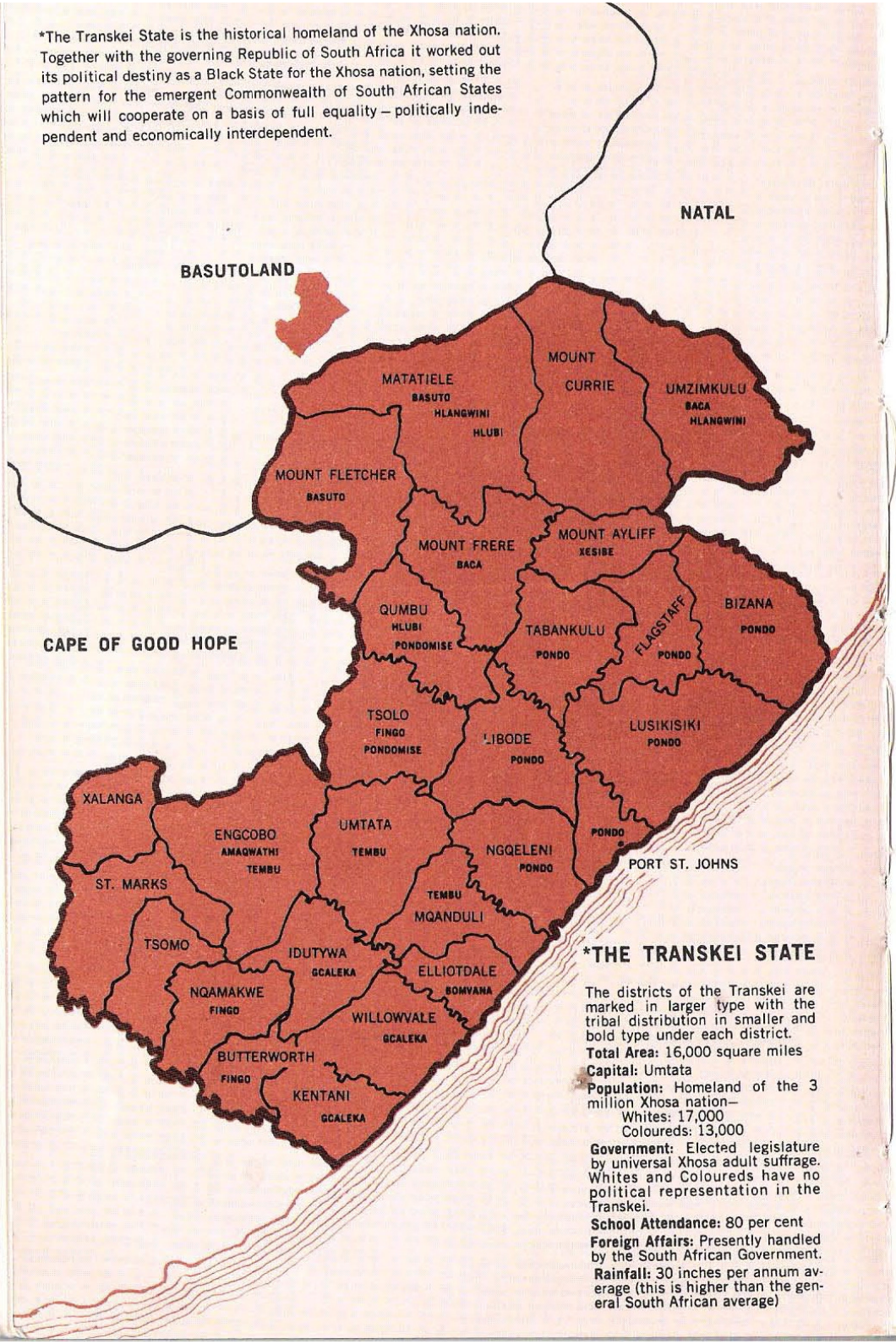
Owing to its high annual rainfall, the Transkei is particularly suitable for the successful commercial planting of trees; indeed the Tomlinson Commission for the Socio-Economic Development of the Bantu areas recommended the afforestation of 141,000 acres.

The indigenous forests of the Territories have been denuded by the Bantu in search of firewood and poles. They use young trees for house building purposes, and this has resulted in a reduction in the natural increase of the forests.

During the last decade of the 19th century a start was made in demarcating existing forests and in establishing plantations to provide the Transkeians with timber for use as firewood and roofing material. In 1936, for instance, 56 plantations had been planted for this purpose over an area of 7,000 acres. The total area under plantations in that year was approximately 15,000 acres.

Reserved indigenous forests now cover an area of 160,431 acres and are patrolled by 95 Bantu forest rangers. The following indigenous trees are found in these forests: Yellowwood, Black Stinkwood, Camdeboo Stinkwood, Black Ironwood, White Ironwood, Lemonwood, Sneezewood, Cabbagewood, Assegaaiwood, Red Pear, Cape Boxwood, Cape Mahogany, Nzimbete, Cape Ebony, Hard Pear, Terblanche, Cape Chestnut. Plantations consist mainly of varieties of pines as well as eucalyptus and wattles.

*The Transkei State is the historical homeland of the Xhosa nation. Together with the governing Republic of South Africa it worked out its political destiny as a Black State for the Xhosa nation, setting the pattern for the emergent Commonwealth of South African States which will cooperate on a basis of full equality – politically independent and economically interdependent.



***THE TRANSKEI STATE**

The districts of the Transkei are marked in larger type with the tribal distribution in smaller and bold type under each district.

Total Area: 16,000 square miles

Capital: Umtata

Population: Homeland of the 3 million Xhosa nation–
Whites: 17,000
Coloureds: 13,000

Government: Elected legislature by universal Xhosa adult suffrage. Whites and Coloureds have no political representation in the Transkei.

School Attendance: 80 per cent

Foreign Affairs: Presently handled by the South African Government.

Rainfall: 30 inches per annum average (this is higher than the general South African average)

Chapter V

The Grassroots of Freedom

"We always stated it clearly: we have always subscribed to the standpoint . . . that they (the Bantu nations) would systematically be guided by us towards obtaining the fullest measure of self-Government and eventually to become independent. There is no doubt about that. That is the course followed by every nation in the world, and I have so often said that no power in the world and no force of arms can stop this development of a nation.
–M. D. C. de Wet Nel, Minister of Bantu, Administration and Development. April 3, 1963 in the South African Parliament.

POLITICAL and administrative independence is meaningless without the machinery to run it.

To ensure that there would be a functioning administration in the Transkei when the new Transkei Government came into being in December 1963, civil administration was transferred to the territory in October, 1963.

Until the Bantu have been trained for the posts, the position of heads of departments and certain other senior posts will be filled by white officials in the public service of the Republic. But from the beginning, 1,900 out of a total of 2,476 posts–or about three-quarters of the total establishment–will be filled by Bantu officials.

Apart from 4,740 posts for Bantu teachers in schools, and temporary posts such as casual workers, recommendations are before the Public Service Commission for a Civil Service for the Transkei with a total establishment of 2,476.

A great deal of planning and development has gone into the political development of the Bantu in the last 15 years. The Government has followed a direct course in its policy of parallel development–the only kind in the world–which made provision for the peaceful co-existence of different peoples in the same land.

Polling day in the Transkei. On the 20th November some 800,000 voters registered their choices for the 45 members of the 109 member Transkeian Legislative Assembly. The other 64 members are the traditional Bantu chiefs who, by virtue of their authority, have an important place in the system of Government which is emerging in the Transkei—a blend of western democracy and traditional Bantu systems.

Registration of Voters

Transkei citizens over the age of 21 years, or who are taxpayers of the Transkeian Government voted in the November Transkei elections.

The logical next step in the voting process, was to get all Transkeian citizens registered. This included not only those at present resident in the Transkei, but also those Transkei Bantu employed throughout the Republic of South Africa.

The mammoth task of registering the roughly 800,000 voters of the Transkei, commenced on June 17 and lasted a month. In each district of the Transkei registration took place under the supervision of the Bantu Affairs Commissioner, and wherever possible, registration officials went from home to home.

Preliminary surveys were conducted and showed the following distribution of prospective voters:

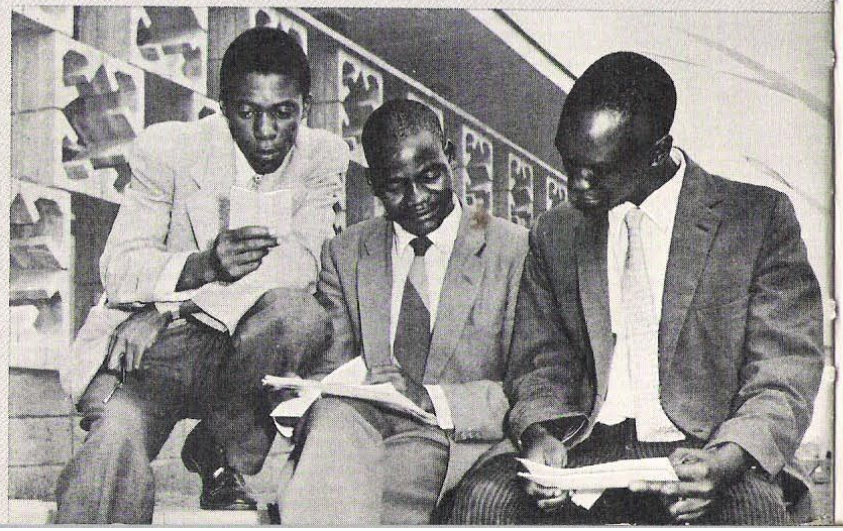
1. Transkei and surrounding areas of the Eastern Cape: 720,000 voters.
2. Transvaal, a total of 95,000 voters with main concentrations at Johannesburg (30,000); Randfontein (11,000) and Klerksdorp (10,000).
3. Natal, a total of 53,000, with main concentrations at Stanger (15,000) and Durban (14,000).
4. The remainder of the Cape Province, a total of 120,000 with the main concentration at Cape Town (50,000).
5. The Orange Free State, a total of 13,000, mainly Sotho-speaking, and a concentration of 3,000 at Senekal.

The campaign to educate and familiarize the Bantu with the particulars of registration and also with the intricate mechanism of self-government was tackled energetically. Three hundred thousand pamphlets were distributed among the population; Bantu Affairs Commissioners, Chiefs and Heads of Bantu Authorities convened meetings in their districts to explain the voting procedure as part of the process of self-government; five mobile film units arrived and officials showed the citizens through the medium of films and color slides how self-government in the Transkei would function.

However, the Transkeians themselves had to realize that they were the only people who could make a success of the venture. They had to come forward to register as several of their leaders appealed to them to do. Chief Kaizer Matanzima, Chairman of the Transkeian Territorial Authority, broadcast the first appeal to his people, and said:

"... The Government of the Republic has given the people of the Transkei the greatest democratic right of all, namely

The Bantu people in South Africa own about 49 percent of the country's cattle. 10 percent of its wool-producing sheep and nearly 70 percent of all goats. The picture above shows an instructor at the agricultural college of Tsolo with a group of students. Below: Nations need scientists as well as farmers... three students at the new University College of the North compare notes.



the right to elect our own government. Men and women alike, who are over 21 years can now vote and if they are taxpayers they can even vote from the time they are 18 years. For this we are deeply indebted to the Republican Government. But the gift which our people have received cannot be utilized unless we do our part. Our first duty is to register as voters.

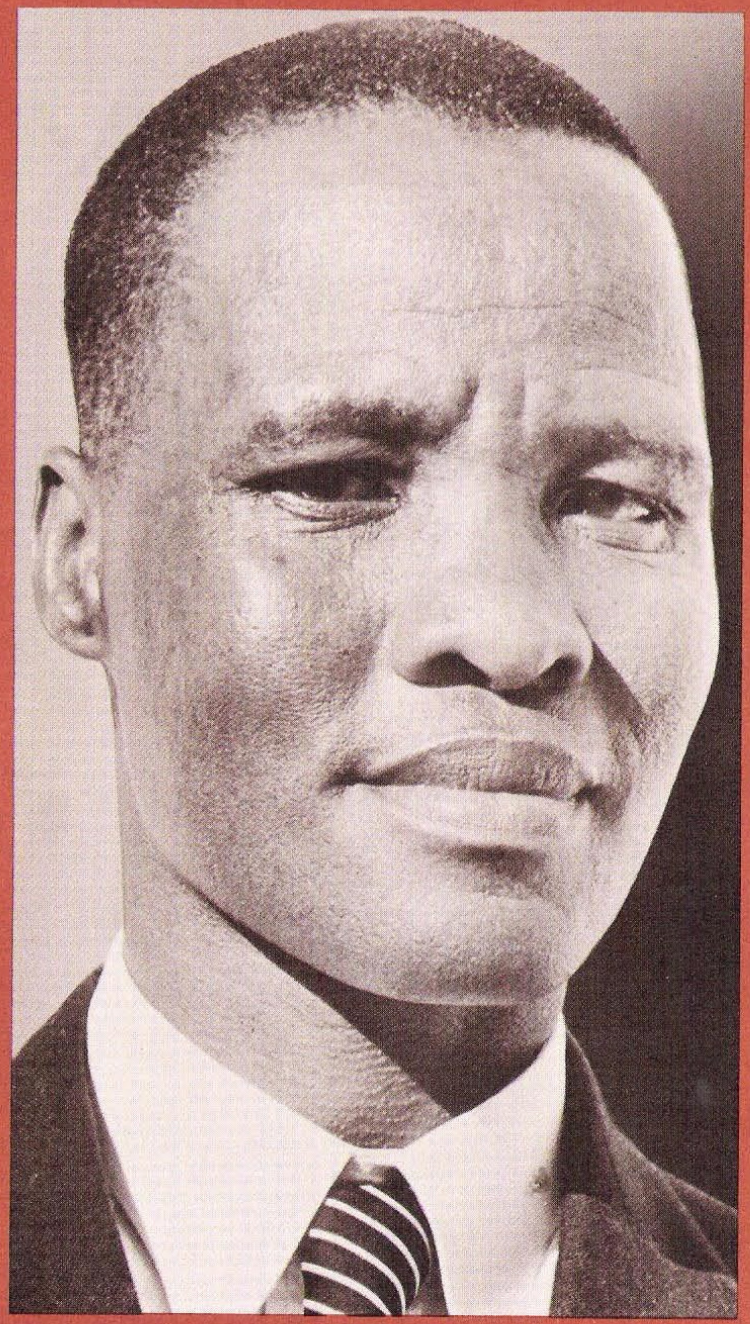
"As Chairman of the Transkeian Territorial Authority which for the past 2½ years has negotiated with the Government on this matter, I wish to make a personal appeal to all men and women of the Transkei, wherever they may be, to come forward to their Bantu Affairs Commissioners and to register as voters of the Transkei."

Paramount Chief Sabata Dalindyebo of Emigrant Tembuland addressed his followers and said: "Tembus, I have the honor to request you, as you know, to register as voters for your future Transkeian Parliament. Please do everything in your ability to have your names placed on the voters' roll, so that you may have a good number of representatives in this Parliament. I appeal particularly to those Tembus who are in the urban areas like Cape Town, Johannesburg, Port Elizabeth and East London, and those who are resident in other centres."

Paramount Chief Botha Sigcau of Eastern Pondoland, broadcast the following message: "I wish to bring to the attention of all Eastern Pondos the fact that the number of elected members in the Transkei's Parliament who will represent Eastern Pondoland, will depend on the number of registrations in their constituencies.

"I am satisfied with the rate of registration in Eastern Pondoland. I appeal to my subjects in the urban areas of South Africa to go and register so that we can have full representation in the Parliament.

"I wish to remind you too that this is the chance the Republican Government promised us to make a great country of the Transkei. Every Pondo must do his duty and show the rest of the world that we can accept the responsibility given to us. I am aware that there are many influences among your people in the cities, trying to keep you away from registering. Do not listen to these people, as they can bring only sorrow."



Senior Chief Kaizer D. Matanzima.

The Future – Stability

SENIOR CHIEF KAIZER MATANZIMA has become the chief minister of the Transkei, the first of South Africa's Bantu homelands to achieve internal self-government. He was elected by 54 votes to 49 by the new legislative assembly of the Transkei that was constituted after the election of November 20.

His chief rival was Paramount Chief Victor Poto.

Mr. Kaizer D. Matanzima is a man of great ability and is today regarded as one of the most promising leaders in Southern Africa. As a natural-born leader he is dedicated to fight communism and to help his people towards a better way of life. He founded the first secondary school in the district of Xalanga, encouraged the establishment of clinics and cooperated fully with missionaries and the authorities. Today several additional schools are being built in his district as result of his trail-blazing activities.

Born in 1915 as son of a Paramount Chief, the young man received his schooling at the Lovedale Missionary Institution where he was honored with the Andrew Smith Award.

Chief Matanzima's father, the late Chief Mhlobo Mvuzo Matanzima Mtirara who reigned over Emigrant Tembuland, died in 1932 and his uncle, Dalubule Matanzima, was appointed Regent to act during Matanzima's minority. His tribe admired and respected his qualities and finally decided to send him to Fort Hare University. In 1939 he obtained the Degree of Bachelor of Arts, having majored in Roman Law and Political Science. Shortly after graduation he was installed as Chief of the Ama-Hala Clan of the Tembus and immediately started to make representations to the South African Government to recognize his hereditary status as Chief of the Emigrant Tembus.

During his term of office Chief Matanzima took articles of clerkship for the attorney's admission examination. He qualified in 1948 and won the Cape of Good Hope Law Society Award for his outstanding performance.

While still studying to become a lawyer, he became a member of the United Transkeian Authorities General Council which was transformed in 1956 to the Transkeian Terri-

torial Authority. He served as a member of the recess committee which drafted the Transkeian Territorial Bantu Authorities Proclamation which subsequently became law. By the provisions of this law, he automatically became permanent head of the Emigrant Tembuland Regional Authority and received a seat in the Transkeian Territorial Authority and its Executive Committee.

In 1958 Chief Matanzima was officially recognized as Regional Chief of the Emigrant Tembuland and in 1961, the Transkeian Territorial Authority elected him as successor to Paramount Chief Botha Sigcau as chairman of this parliamentary governing body for the Xhosa-speaking peoples. In his first address he called for "patience, determination and statesmanship in dealing with the affairs of the people." "Communism," he said, "is threatening the existence of all forms of democratic institutions."

On the subject of constitutional development he said: "Self-government has now become our resolved policy and there is no turning from the road we have taken."

Chief Matanzima supports the concept of separate development for South Africa's peoples, in terms of which the Bantu are gradually assuming control of their own affairs in their territories.

After the chief minister had been chosen, the legislative assembly met for a second time to elect the five cabinet ministers who will assume with the chief minister executive responsibility for the affairs of the Transkei. The chief minister is also minister of finance, and the other five ministers will head the departments of agriculture and forestry, interior, education, justice, and roads and works.

Cabinet

- *Minister of Justice*—Mr. George M. Matanzima;
- *Minister of Education*—Mr. Bennet M. Mdledle;
- *Minister of Roads and Public Works*—
  Mr. Matanda S. Mvusi;
- *Minister of the Interior*—Chief Jeremiah Moshesh; and
- *Minister of Agriculture and Forestry*—
  Mr. Columbus Madikizela.

The Chief Minister, in a short address to the Transkei Legislative Assembly, said that the people of the Transkei are grateful to the South African Government for helping them through a bloodless transition period, which was "unlike what happened in other countries."

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